



The Flu Scare:
How to Stop the
Next Pandemic

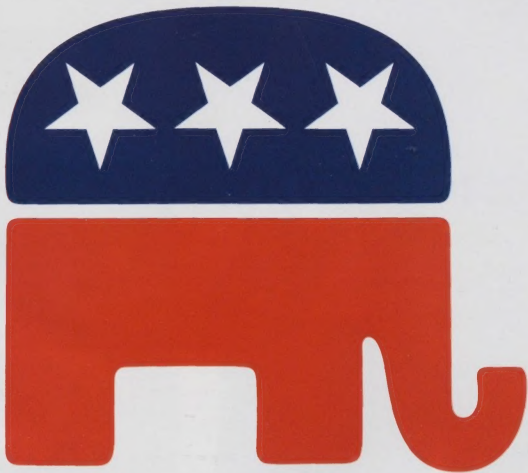
The Middle East:
Will Bibi Netanyahu
Go to War?



Elizabeth
Edwards: Living
With Infidelity

TIME

Endangered Species



How the Republicans Lost Their Way

BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD

How They Can Come Back

BY JOE SCARBOROUGH

Many parts working together—the only way to solve the world's energy challenges.

Energy demand is expected to be 35 percent higher in the year 2030 than it was in the year 2005, driven largely by people in the developing world seeking higher standards of living. Meeting this growing long-term demand requires that we develop all economic sources of energy—oil, natural gas, coal, nuclear and alternatives.

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The image shows four people—three men and one woman—standing in a row. They are dressed in business casual attire. Behind them is a large, light blue graphic featuring several interlocking gears of different sizes. The overall background is a gradient of light blue and white.

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A small graphic of a molecular structure, possibly representing a hydrocarbon, is located in the bottom right corner of the advertisement.

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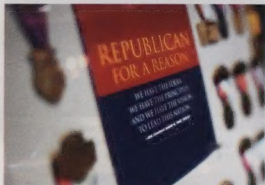
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To Our Readers

The TIME 100 Gala. At our fifth annual dinner, Michelle Obama praised social entrepreneurs, John Legend rocked out, and Oprah toasted her schoolteachers

AMID AN EXTRAORDINARY collection of honorees at our annual TIME 100 gala that included social entrepreneurs and activists, First Lady Michelle Obama announced that as part of the new Serve America Act, the White House is creating the Social Innovation Fund to help nonprofits and individuals who are working on creative solutions to the nation's most difficult challenges. TIME supported the creation and passage of the Serve America Act, and Mrs. Obama's speech—she is, by the way, a TIME 100 honoree—was a fitting capstone to both the evening and the movement for national service. She cited three young social entrepreneurs who are tackling problems in education, health care and income inequality and who were also guests at a truly memorable evening.

The TIME 100 is not about the influence of power but the power of influence—and we ask some of the honorees to toast those who have influenced them. It was only fitting, then, that Oprah Winfrey paid homage to her schoolteachers, who saw the potential of a precocious little girl. I think all our readers are at the dinner in spirit, and I hope you enjoy the pictures as much as you've enjoyed the TIME 100 issue.

Rich

Richard Stengel
MANAGING EDITOR



TIME to shine Time Inc. chairman and CEO Ann Moore, Time Warner chairman and CEO Jeff Bewkes, TIME managing editor Richard Stengel, First Lady Michelle Obama, Time Inc. editor-in-chief John Huey and TIME president Mark Ford backstage



Dynamic duo TIME 100 honorees Oprah Winfrey and Michelle Obama



Hey, you in the tux! Late-night host Jimmy Fallon serenades guests



Fashionable twosome TIME's Josh Tyrangiel with Stella McCartney



Showstopper Songman John Legend and his band perform



Laugh factory Leslie Mann, Judd Apatow and Lorne Michaels



A voice for the unheard Activist Somali Mam



The View crew Walters, Goldberg, Hasselbeck, Shepherd and Behar



Sounds of India Slumdog Millionaire composer A.R. Rahman and his orchestra perform the Oscar-winning "Jai Ho"



Cultural pioneers Twitter's Evan Williams and Jack Dorsey with M.I.A. and her fiancé Ben Brewer



Triple play Actresses Kate Hudson and Liv Tyler came as guests of designer Stella McCartney



King and Di Diane Sawyer and Gayle King, editor-at-large at O magazine



Cool couple Venture capitalist Aviv Nevo and Chinese actress Ziyi Zhang



Sound and vision Rocker Lou Reed and photographer Timothy Greenfield-Sanders



Movers and shakers Talk-show host Charlie Rose and Zipcar co-founder Robin Chase

Bold voices Tavis Smiley and Cornel West



Car talk Electric-car entrepreneur Shai Agassi with Ford Motor CEO Alan Mulally



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Car talk Electric-car entrepreneur Shai Agassi with Ford Motor CEO Alan Mulally

10 Questions.

The *Lost* co-creator directs the latest film in the *Star Trek* franchise.

J.J. Abrams will now take your questions



Next Questions

Ask Jim Cramer your questions for an upcoming interview at time.com/10questions

Were you a *Star Trek* fan growing up?

Michael Bradburn, TORONTO
Star Trek was always a little bit closed emotionally. I never connected to the characters. The show I loved more than anything was *The Twilight Zone*. In every episode, Rod Serling would introduce you to any number of characters, often broken people who are struggling in some weird way.

You've created several original TV shows, but your movies have been TV remakes. Is television more receptive to new ideas?

Forrest Karbowsky
NEW YORK CITY

Because of the risk in budget, because films cost as much as they do, it's simply harder to find opportunities to take those kinds of creative risks in film. For right now, I think TV might be a place where there are more unexpected stories being told.

How much of *Star Trek* creator Gene Roddenberry's philosophy did you keep in the film?

Oscar Trevino
AUSTIN, TEXAS

The beauty of what he created is that sense of optimism and diversity. It was refreshing to work on a film that had a bighearted approach to the future—to show a future you'd actually like to live in, as opposed to many films where you think, "I'll pass."

With *Lost* entering its final season next year, do you have dibs on directing the series finale?

Martin Sundstedt
STOCKHOLM

It would be an honor to go back and direct the finale. The reason I won't do it is that



Jack Bender, who is the directing producer on the show, has essentially earned the right to do whatever he wants. He should be directing the finale.

Are you a comic-book geek?

Melissa Wolland
LOS ANGELES

I was never really a comic-book fanatic. It's funny, because that stuff that I'm entertained by now are the same things I was entertained by when I was a kid. I remember my first day of nursery school, bawling because I was afraid I would miss *Batman*. I remember the teacher saying, "What's wrong?" And I couldn't catch my breath through the tears to say, "Am I going to miss *Batman*?"

You've directed two movies now. Have you developed your own style, a J.J. Abrams touch?

Carlos Diaz-Velazquez
SAN JUAN, P.R.

I have no style. There are certain people who just have a visual sense that defines their work. You could probably watch 30 seconds of anything they do and you'll know exactly who directed it. I don't have that skill.

Lost's elaborate, seasons-long story line seems to be the exception on TV. Is there pressure to create easily digestible shows?

Mike North, BOALSBURG, PA.
When we created *Lost*, it was so clearly going to be a serialized show. We thought, They're never in a million years going to let us do it. Somehow,

though, ABC was O.K. with it because it did well. But that was a complete anomaly. Networks prefer stand-alones. They syndicate better, and they're easier to watch.

Your shows are less about mysterious islands and mad scientists than they are about dysfunctional families. Why?

Martin Petersen

SCHLESWIG, GERMANY

Especially in television, the more that you're telling a story about a family, the better the show ends up being. And the family can be a family, a group of friends or the members of a starship. You're telling the story of relationships and how characters grow.

Do you have plans for another television series?

Divya Chungi
NEW YORK CITY

I do have an idea. It's like a romantic and comedic show with a little bit of action thrown in. That's the best broad definition I can give.

What is your favorite plot twist of all time?

Emi Chang Kaneshiro
MILILANI, HAWAII

The one that comes to mind is the end of *Planet of the Apes*, when you realize, "Oh my God, he's never getting home because that is home." I just remember seeing that as a kid and I was like, "That's it. My brain just stopped."



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with J.J. Abrams and subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions

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Postcard: Hardin. With its costly new prison standing empty, a Montana community hopes to lure inmates from the world's most infamous detention center. **The town that would be Gitmo**

BY PAT DAWSON

THE COILS OF RAZOR WIRE GLINT IN the prairie sun like silver tumbleweeds, piled against the chain-link perimeter fence around the Two Rivers Detention Facility in Hardin, Mont. Two years ago, the town (pop. 3,600) celebrated the completion of this \$27 million state-of-the-art private prison, capable of holding 464 inmates. Convinced that the facility would provide employment for more than 100 people and a steady source of municipal income, Hardin and a neighboring town issued revenue bonds to finance its construction and turned it over to a for-profit prison-management corporation. On a 40-acre (16 hectare) field at the edge of town where pronghorn antelope once grazed, they built it. But nobody came.

The former governor of Montana had assured Hardin that the state's department of corrections needed more space, but the burgeoning deal fell through after a new governor took office in 2005. Then Hardin tried to lure business from other states, only to be told that Montana law prohibited incarceration of prisoners convicted out of state. Despite winning a lawsuit last June that would allow it to accept prisoners from anywhere, Two Rivers remains empty; its \$27 million in bonds went into default a year ago.

Then a new source of hope appeared. Two days after his inauguration, Barack Obama made his campaign pledge to close the U.S. detention facility at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, into an Executive Order. Quickly, the prison's backers made a new pitch: Why not house some of those 240 detainees at Two Rivers? On April 21, Hardin's city council passed a resolution to entice the detainees its way, saying it could provide a "safe and secure environment, pending trial and/or deportation."

On April 30, Defense Secretary Robert Gates told a Senate committee there were up to 100 Gitmo detainees who could be neither tried nor released, and he requested an extra \$50 million for a new



Al-Qaeda to big-sky country? No takers for the state-of-the-art \$27 million Two Rivers prison

facility on U.S. soil. Greg Smith, executive director of Hardin's Two Rivers Authority, says the isolated town could be a "good fit." Its facility is beyond "shovel-ready," he says—it's a turnkey operation.

Far from supporting their constituents' idea, the three members of Montana's congressional delegation have reacted swiftly, unanimously and negatively. "I understand the need to create jobs, but we're not going to bring al-Qaeda to Big Sky Country—no way, not on my watch," said Senator Max Baucus, a Democrat.

Some local taxpayers are livid at Hardin officials. "It's been a complete fiasco since the beginning," says Mike Carpata, a forester with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as he shopped at Lammers Trading Post in Hardin's downtown. But others remain supportive of the project. The store's fourth-generation owner, George Lammers, notes that after subtropical Gitmo, the dry, wintry high plains "would be torture for some of those boys." He adds, "I think it would be great for all the law-enforcement people to be here. It would help our housing market. Our city fathers wanted the economic

benefits, but I guess they didn't foresee the political controversies."

Until being laid off Jan. 23, husband-and-wife corrections officers Glyn and Rae Perkins were the only employees at the labyrinthine, 93,000-sq-ft. (8,600 sq m) Two Rivers prison. "Those of us who were involved had such high hopes," she says. "I sit here now watching businesses close and people wondering if they'll lose their houses. It's sad. But the idea of housing Gitmo prisoners here just floors me. It would be scary."

And yet it's easy to understand the economic appeal of the project: the county's poverty rate is among the nation's worst, its unemployment rate hovers around 10%, and Hardin has seen much better days. On a Saturday morning, two thirty-ish sisters who had been up all night partying slouched in the sun against one of many vacant storefronts lining Center Avenue. They said they were afraid they might be picked up by the police and tossed in jail. They laughed with some relief when reminded that the closest lockup, Big Horn County Jail, was now so overcrowded that it was turning away misdemeanor offenders.



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Inbox



How's Obama Doin'?

IN HIS FIRST 100 DAYS, PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA has had to address such issues as torture, pirates, increasing unemployment, trouble in the Big Three car companies and corruption on Wall Street [May 4]. And yet for the first time in a long while, I have seen Americans begin to have hope for a stronger America. Congratulations, Mr. President, for giving Americans something they were seeking and sorely lacking.

Anthony P. Johnson, PHILADELPHIA

PRESIDENT OBAMA APTLY CHARACTERIZED the current recession recently as one caused by a "perfect storm of irresponsibility and poor decision-making that stretched from Wall Street to Washington to Main Street." Yet the Obama phenomenon could be brewing a more perfect storm, wherein an F.D.R.-L.B.J.-style government would promote intrusions that could inflict great social, political and economic devastation on us.

Daniel B. Jeffs, APPLE VALLEY, CALIF.

THANK YOU FOR THE WONDERFUL PHOTOS of Obama and our First Family. I could not wait for my issue to arrive.

Arlene M. Naulty, MELBOURNE, FLA.

Torture and Intelligence

RE "DUMB INTELLIGENCE," [MAY 4]: ROBERT BAER thinks "persuasion" is far more effective than torture. I don't pretend to

understand the merits of techniques for extracting intelligence from prisoners. But as a veteran, I believe that al-Qaeda operatives are not garden-variety prisoners who would respond to persuasion; they have proved to be hate-filled extremists who place no value on human life. I don't like torture either, but if it proves to obtain information that puts a stop to future bloodshed—as it has, according to experts—then I say please resume.

John Stern, GRAND HAVEN, MICH.

I DON'T DOUBT THAT AT LEAST IN SOME cases torture did save lives. In the meantime, how many tens of thousands of Muslims have been radicalized against the U.S. because of Abu Ghraib and reports of other instances of our use of torture? Some of those newly radicalized may be plotting more 9/11s. And many have already killed large numbers of Americans in Iraq and Afghanistan in suicide bombings, guerrilla warfare and other attacks.

Geoff Pietsch, GAINESVILLE, FLA.

AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II, GERMANS trekked west to surrender to Americans rather than to Russians, believing they would be treated humanely. Instead of torturing them, we offered them the Marshall Plan, a shining moment in U.S. history. I hate to see the honor of those valiant Americans squandered in CIA torture chambers.

Mike Burch, NASHVILLE

'Texas would do nicely as an independent nation. I have numerous issues with Governor Perry, but all in all, he is a very effective leader.'

Byron Spain, SPRING BRANCH, TEXAS



Lone Star nation? Perry's intimations of secession revived a debate

HE'S ALL HAT AND NO COWBOY

TEXAS IS PROUD TO FLAUNT ITS tradition of independence and its tough image [May 4]. We are proud to claim dominance as the largest state in the nation—so long as y'all exclude that chunk of ice up near the pole. Rick Perry, however, no longer speaks for the majority here. In 2006, he won the race with only 39% of the vote. In 2010, we will call Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison back from Washington to restore sanity in Austin. So the next time you hear ol' Rick say something out of line, please don't judge us as a whole.

Huey Fischer, ROCKPORT, TEXAS

Tough and in a Huff

DENSENESS SEEMS TO BE THE BYWORD FOR Texas politicians [May 4]. Since Governor Rick Perry has obviously not seen the latest polls showing that Americans are by and large pleased with our President and new direction, he can take his state—and the ex-President who got us into this mess in the first place—and run with it.

Arlene Euler, THOMPSON'S STATION, TENN.

IN "TEXAS TANTRUM," NANCY GIBBS FAILED to mention that for 10 years Texas was a country—which successfully fought for independence from Mexico in 1836—before choosing to join the U.S. Do not compare Texas to Vermont, Hawaii and California.

Mike Gallagher, HOUSTON

YOUR ARTICLE MADE TEXAS OUT TO BE AN unpatriotic state, and that is not true. I can see why it was the very last article in the magazine. Bless your heart.

RuthAnn Jackson, WYLLIE, TEXAS

GOVERNOR PERRY, DON'T LET THE DOOR OF the mansion bang into you on the way out.

K. Williams, ANAHEIM, CALIF.



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to be a mother."*

Liu Yutang,
Chinese writer



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always has to
think twice,
once for herself
and once for
her child."*

Sophia Loren,
Italian actress

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Briefing

THE WORLD HISTORY VERBATIM

POP CHART MILESTONES



The Moment

5/6/09: Washington

TANKS RUMBLING NORTH from Islamabad toward the Swat Valley, refugees fleeing in the opposite direction: from the TV footage, at least, it appears that the Pakistani military is finally taking the fight to the Taliban. It was probably no coincidence that the assault began as Pakistan's President Asif Ali Zardari arrived in Washington for a summit with Afghan President Hamid Karzai and President Barack Obama. Zardari brought a long wish list: he

wants aid, military hardware and training.

The U.S. is still fighting two unfinished wars, in Afghanistan and Iraq, and trying to avoid another one, with Iran. But Pakistan—a country that has nuclear weapons and is falling into chaos—is becoming the Obama Administration's biggest foreign policy challenge. Richard Holbrooke, Obama's special representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan, told Congress that the Pakistani President

“should be treated as the leader of a country who vitally needs our support and whose success is vitally related to American interests.”

But there is skepticism. Pakistani leaders have passed the hat before, yet little of the

Now Pakistan, not Afghanistan, is Obama's big foreign policy challenge

\$10 billion in U.S. military aid sent to Islamabad since 9/11 has been used to fight the extremists. Previous military operations have ended with peace deals that gave Pakistan's militants larger, safer sanctuaries. Some mem-

bers of Congress are asking quite why—given all that U.S. aid—the Pakistani army has found it so hard to defeat the militants.

For that reason, Zardari's biggest takeaway from his trip may be the realization that he can't rely exclusively on a sympathetic White House to loosen the purse strings. Pakistan was once a country that most in the U.S. knew little about. But the more Americans learn about it, the less likely they are to think that all there is rosy. It will take more than TV footage for Zardari to convince Congress—and public opinion—that his country deserves the assistance he seeks.

—BY BOBBY GHOSH

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



1 | Brussels

Plumbing a Downturn's Depths

The economic crisis is hitting the E.U. even harder than its economists predicted in January. According to a new European



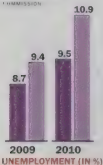
A line at a job center in Spain, where the unemployment rate has reached 17%

Commission forecast, the "E.U. is not spared" from the "deepest and most widespread recession in the postwar era." European economies will continue to contract, with unemployment expected to reach

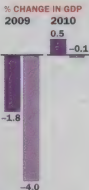
nearly 11% by 2010. The report says that despite government bailouts and bank stabilization plans, the E.U.'s economic situation is "exceptionally uncertain."

European Union economic forecast

SOURCE: EUROPEAN COMMISSION



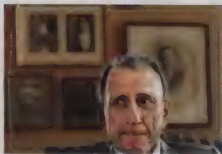
■ Predicted in January 2009
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2 | Pakistan

Refugees Flee Taliban Area

Citing government steps to oust its fighters from the southern region of the Swat Valley, the Taliban ended a three-month truce May 5, prompting thousands of civilians to flee, fearing a renewal of violence. As many as 800,000 of the valley's 1.6 million residents are expected to evacuate, according to Khalid Khan Umerzai, a local commissioner, in what he said might be "the biggest displacement of Pakistanis since independence" in 1947. While the government has set up at least six refugee camps, officials are worried they will lack funds to support the anticipated influx.



Specter, 79, would have been the eighth most senior Democrat in the Senate

3 | Washington

Just Another New Guy

Arlen Specter, the Pennsylvania Senator who rocked U.S. politics by leaving the Republicans for the Democrats, has been stripped of his seniority in a deal struck by party leaders. The demotion means Specter, a 29-year Senate veteran who cited the GOP's tilt rightward for his departure, will be the most junior Democrat on four committees—including Judiciary, which he had chaired as a Republican.

4 | Detroit

A New Plan For GM

General Motors announced a new deal with the U.S. Treasury on May 5 in which the government would forgive about \$10 billion of the carmaker's \$15.4 billion federal debt in return for a 50% stake in the company. The United Auto Workers union urged the government to reject the proposed plan, which also includes a 100-to-1 reverse stock split, because it would call on GM to outsource more of its manufacturing to foreign countries.



5 | Nepal

A Rocky Start for an Infant Democracy

A dispute over the integration of former Maoist guerrillas into the country's military has prompted a governmental collapse less than a year after Nepal became a republic. Prime Minister and Maoist leader Prachanda resigned in protest, while demonstrators carrying torches called for the dismissal of the nation's army chief.

Numbers:

22

Hours shooting victim Connie Culp spent in surgery to become the U.S.'s first face-transplant recipient

\$34

BILLION

Amount of capital needed by Bank of America to withstand a further economic downturn



6 | Georgia

AN INCONVENIENT MUTINY Armored tanks rushed to break up a revolt by some 500 soldiers on a military base in Mukhrovani, one day before NATO embarked on sensitive military exercises nearby. Officials painted the mutiny as a covert Russian coup attempt, which Moscow flatly denied. The uprising comes at a bad time for President Mikheil Saakashvili, who faces mass protests calling for his resignation over his handling of last year's war with Russia.

7 | Washington

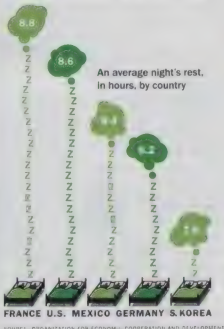
Targeting Tax Havens

President Obama has proposed cracking down on U.S. corporations that use offshore subsidiaries to lower their tax burdens. While most nations do not tax corporate profits earned abroad, Obama says doing so would put some \$210 billion in U.S. coffers over the next 10 years. Critics say the change would make it harder for U.S. companies to compete globally and could spur some to relocate overseas. A 2008 report from the Government Accountability Office said 83 of the 100 largest public U.S. companies have subsidiaries in tax havens.

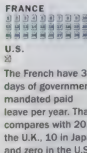
8 | Paris

Different Strokes for Different Folks

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the French spend twice as much time enjoying meals each day as do Americans, and they get an hour more of sleep per night than do most South Koreans. The group's report used government data and Gallup polls from 18 of the OECD's member countries to examine various social indicators—from education spending and fertility rates to leisure activities and "life satisfaction."



SOURCE: ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT



9 | Washington

Torture Charges Unlikely

A draft report from a U.S. Justice Department ethics investigation says the Bush Administration lawyers whose secret memos laid the legal foundation for brutal interrogation tactics should not be prosecuted. However, the draft also recommends that state bar associations consider disciplinary action, including possible disbarment, for those involved in composing the memos. Attorney General Eric Holder has yet to approve its findings.

10 | Mumbai

Alleged Gunman Fights Back

Mohammad Ajmal Amir Qasab, the sole surviving suspected gunman involved in



A man identified as Qasab walks through a Mumbai train station.

November's deadly terrorist attacks in Mumbai, pleaded not guilty to all charges against him, including murder and waging war, in a Mumbai court on May 6. After failing to convince the court that he was under 18 and should be tried as a minor, Qasab

admitted he was 21 but maintained his innocence, claiming he had been tortured into confessing. Two others accused of helping plan the attacks also pleaded not guilty. More than 160 people died in the assault, including nine suspected gunmen.

★ | What They're Banning in Germany:

On May 5, the German Constitutional Court upheld a ban on married people's combining already hyphenated names (or "chain names"), ruling that surnames with three or more parts "would quickly lose the effectiveness of their identifying purpose." The decision is less than shocking in a country where parents must seek approval from local authorities before they officially name their children.

\$100 MILLION

Amount raised in 100 days for the George W. Bush Presidential Library

29,000

Number of re-rejection notices sent to U.S. high schoolers by the University of California at San Diego after the school mistakenly sent open-house invites to all rejected applicants

A Brief History Of:

Supreme Court Nominations



WHENEVER A SUPREME COURT JUSTICE LEAVES THE bench—as Justice David Souter said on May 1 he would do—it causes tumult. As President Barack Obama prepares to name a replacement, his opponents gird for an attack. The Senate, which must confirm the nominee, leans heavily in Obama's favor. But between committee hearings, interest group lobbying and the occasional scandal, any Supreme Court nomination can be an arduous process.

President John Tyler suffered the most rebuffs; in 1844-45, he presented the same five candidates for the court a total of nine times. (Only one was confirmed.) President Lyndon Johnson was snubbed in 1968 when his nomination of Justice Abe Fortas as Chief Justice was filibustered so heavily that Fortas withdrew. As a Senator, Obama joined an unsuccessful filibuster against Samuel Alito in 2006. Even the legendary Louis Brandeis faced strong opposition over his progressive rulings (combined with an undercurrent of anti-Semitism).

In 1987, conservative judge Robert Bork endured such virulent criticism—his video-rental records were published in search of dirty secrets—that to this day, a nominee sidelined by activists is said to have been “borked.” Clarence Thomas’ 1991 bid was nearly scuppered when former colleague Anita Hill accused him of sexual harassment; their lurid testimony was aired live on C-SPAN for a mesmerized American public.

Obama’s opposition to Bush’s nominations may earn him some backlash from Senate Republicans. Souter (who received a relatively easy confirmation in 1990) is viewed as a liberal judge, so an Obama replacement may not upset the court’s balance. Time will tell if that’s enough to avoid getting borked. —BY CLAIRE SUDDATH

The nine The current U.S. Supreme Court Justices pose for a formal portrait in 2006

HOW A COURT WAS MADE

1 ANTHONY KENNEDY (1988)
After Robert Bork and President Ronald Reagan’s second choice, admitted pot smoker Douglas Ginsburg, both fouled out, Kennedy was unanimously confirmed

2 CLARENCE THOMAS (1991)
Despite sexual-harassment accusations by Anita Hill, he was confirmed, 52-48

3 RUTH BADER GINSBURG (1993)
She refused to be quizzed on hot topics like the death penalty but was still confirmed easily

4 JOHN ROBERTS (2005)
He was awaiting confirmation when William Rehnquist died. President George W. Bush resubmitted his name for Chief Justice



THE SKIMMER



The Media Relations Department of Hizbollah Wishes You a Happy Birthday

By Neil MacFarquhar
PublicAffairs; 187 pages

“IT IS A MISTAKE TO VIEW the darker aspects of life in the Middle East as the entire spectrum and write off the rest,” states MacFarquhar, a former Cairo bureau chief for the New York Times. The son of an American oilworker, MacFarquhar grew up in Libya and speaks Arabic. His survey of the modern Middle East is concerned with more than just the typical tales of conflict, death and revenge so often peddled by foreign correspondents. With both an insider’s affection and an outsider’s perspective, he paints a richer, more subtle portrait of the region through miniprofiles of the people, groups and agencies (big and small) that influence daily Arab life—Hizballah, al-Jazeera, Saudi clerics and an influential Lebanese chef, among others. As a result, stories of the hateful, misogynist policies of the Saudi religious establishment and the dark deeds of the Jordanian secret police are more than balanced out by those of brave, modern reformers. By the book’s end, MacFarquhar’s hope for the region’s future has become contagious.

—BY GILBERT CRUZ

READ ☒
SKIM ☐
TOSS ☐

Verbatim

'We are asking even sex workers to join the cause, even if we have to pay them ourselves.'

PATRICIA NYAUNDI, executive director of Kenya's Federation of Women Lawyers, on a campaign to get women to withhold sex to protest infighting in the coalition government

'We have yet to reach the depths of what he has done.'

WILLIAM BRATTON, Los Angeles police chief, on John Floyd Thomas Jr., 72, whose DNA was matched to two 1970s murders; he is believed to have killed as many as 30 people

'Darn! And I was just planning a trip to England for their superior dental work.'

MICHAEL SAVAGE, U.S. radio host, on being barred from entering Britain because of his remarks about immigrants and Muslims

'It was a really nice day. Then you hear a bang. Everyone looks up, and you see people flying through the air.'

PETER VON DE VORST, Dutch journalist, after a driver plowed his car into spectators at a royal parade in Holland, killing seven

'Even though I am California's "top cop," 2 of my tires were stolen. No matter. I got 2 new ones and I'm rolling again!'

JERRY BROWN, California's attorney general, in a Facebook posting after his state-owned Toyota Camry was ransacked

'Like clean pieces of paper that can be easily written or painted on.'

KAING GUEK EAV, chief jailer for the Khmer Rouge, at his U.N. trial, referring to children used as prison guards by the Khmer Rouge

'I've asked for mine up front.'

CAROL ANN DUFFY, on the 600 bottles of sherry bestowed on Britain's poet laureate. She is the first woman given that honor



Back & Forth:

Marriage

'What's happening today behind a front of bodily curves and female beauty is grave.'



VERONICA LARIO, wife of Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, publicly criticizing her husband for filling his Cabinet with beautiful women and using them as "pieces of costume jewelry" to attract votes. She later announced plans to divorce him

'Veronica will have to publicly apologize to me. And I don't know if that will be enough.'

BERLUSCONI, on his wife, who previously rebuked him for his playboy ways



Military

'The special-forces guys, they hunt men. Basically, we do the same things as Christians. We hunt people for Jesus.'

U.S. MILITARY CHAPLAIN, in a video posted on al-Jazeera showing a 2008 sermon in Afghanistan, where soldiers had stacks of Bibles in the local languages

'That specific case involved a soldier who brought in a donation of translated Bibles that were sent to his personal address.'

U.S. military spokeswoman **MAJOR JENNIFER WILLIS**, saying the footage was taken out of context and chaplains were instructed to make clear to soldiers that they could not proselytize

LEXICON

Dracula Sneeze n.—

A method of sneezing used to prevent the spread of swine flu

USAGE: "California Schools Superintendent Jack O'Connell said that last week teachers reminded students that if they have to sneeze, to put their mouths into the crook of one of their elbows. 'The students started calling that the Dracula Sneeze, and we picked up on that,' O'Connell said."

—Reuters, April 27, 2009



Pop Chart



DAISY DUKE on the cover of *Vanity Fair*



SHIA LABEOUF tells *Playboy* his mom is sexy. Most awkward Mother's Day gift ever

SHOCKING

Hey, **MADONNA**: What the what?



CAT STEVENS accuses Coldplay of plagiarism. **CHRIS MARTIN** denies changing name to Yusuf Islam



New book claims **VAN GOGH** did not cut own ear off but lost it in a knife fight. We're not sure which is more badass



Gay-marriage opponent **MISS CALIFORNIA** obviously not opposed to naughty, naughty pictures



Bored Supreme Court extends **NIPPLEGATE** case



Since there just aren't enough celebrity talkfests, **OPRAH** helps **JENNY MCCARTHY** launch her own show

PREDICTABLE



KIEFER SUTHERLAND gets all Kiefer Sutherland at party



SNL's WEEKEND UPDATE to become half-hour prime-time show



PENTAGON to use social networks for recruiting, unaware that nobody likes being poked by the Defense Department



SEAN PENN files for divorce. Jeez, give a man an Oscar...



JOE THE PLUMBER says, No gay people near my kids. Gay people say feeling is mutual



HUGH JACKMAN possibly to star as Houdini on Broadway. Just glue a top hat to the guy's head, already

SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE



BRISTOL PALIN to head teen-pregnancy group, closing that barn door just in time



PAULA ABDUL admits to former painkiller addiction

Milestones



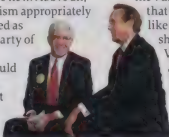
Jack Kemp

IT IS NOT APPARENT AT FIRST, but the loss of Jack Kemp, who died on May 2 at 73, calls to mind the parallels he had with another political giant, Hubert Humphrey. As far as I knew, neither had a single political enemy. They may not have achieved the presidency,

but each was enormously important in his respective party, in the institutions of government and to the political process. Both were examples of how party members should conduct themselves today.

Jack's final service—his last play, to offer a football metaphor, which he loved to do—was to demonstrate what Reaganism (and, to be fair, Kempism, because Jack was critical to President Reagan's success) was really about: conservatism with a smile, conservatism of multiplication not division, optimism about the future, the best of the old applied to the new. Above all, conservatism appropriately constructed as benefit the party of Lincoln.

Few could have predicted that Jack and



I would be running mates in 1996. We didn't always agree, we ran against each other in 1988, and I was never a total convert to some of his ideas. But we agreed on a 15% across-the-board tax cut and reduced federal spending as key components of our campaign. In the end, the power of ideas, enthusiasm about the future, passion for racial equality, positivity and inclusion brought us together. Jack never claimed his ideas were flawless, but he knew that our party, to become a majority, needed new ideas and a form of conservatism that protected the vulnerable. He believed that in a great country like America, no one should be left behind.

What a guy and what an act to follow. Oh, how we need more Jack Kems now.

—BY BOB DOLE



Marilyn French

IT SPEAKS TO THE DIVISIONS Marilyn French chronicled that her death, on May 2 at 79, left women of certain vintages bereft but seemed to go largely unnoticed by their male contemporaries. THIS BOOK WILL CHANGE YOUR LIFE: That was the pledge on the dust jacket of French's 1977 first novel, *The Women's Room*. It was decried by some critics as militant,

man-hating propaganda, but its themes of female solidarity and empowerment didn't seem hugely radical to my blithe circle of undergraduate friends. French would later define feminism as "the belief that women matter as much as men do." My generation took this for granted but found a bittersweet compulsion to the tale

of Mira, a 1950s housewife forced to challenge male expectations—and her own.

The narrative mirrored aspects of French's life. Born in Brooklyn, N.Y., in 1929, she, like Mira, divorced and pursued an academic career. French's daughter was sexually assaulted; there is a rape in the novel. "All men are rapists and that's all they are"—the outburst by one of her characters became conflated with French's nuanced views.

She penned polemics, literary criticism, a memoir and further novels, but her debut made the biggest impact. "There's probably a huge need for an updated *Women's Room*, for all those 20-something girls who say they want to be feminists but no longer have the words," says writer Stella Duffy. French's greatest gift was to help women articulate their world.

—BY CATHERINE MAYER



DIED Some nights he was Frank Sinatra, other nights he was Anita Baker, but **Danny Gans, 52**, a Las Vegas Strip impressionist and singer, always entertained his adoring fans. Five nights a week, 46 weeks a year, Gans crooned comedic songs to Sin City visitors.

■ Mel Brooks recognized his comedic talent and rewarded **Dom DeLuise, 75**, with roles in several Brooks movies, including *Blazing Saddles* and *History of the*



World, Part I. The burly actor and chef also often appeared alongside Burt Reynolds in films like *The Cannonball Run*.

■ In the 1960s, Brazilian theater director **Augusto Boal, 78**, formed the Theatre of the Oppressed, in which "spect-actors" interact with performers to change a story's outcome and its characters' fates.

■ After resigning her position as English-department head at a London college, **U.A. Fanthorpe, 79**, an acclaimed British poet, took a receptionist job at a neurological hospital, where she witnessed tragic stories that incited her to start writing verse.

■ Jewish boxer **Salomo Arouch, 86**, fought his way to survival as a prisoner at the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz by winning fight after fight against other captives—



keeping prison guards enthralled. He was the subject of the 1989 film *Triumph of the Spirit*, starring Willem Dafoe.

GLACIER NBA legend **Dave Bing, 65**, won Detroit's mayoral race, unseating scandal-ridden Kwame Kilpatrick's interim replacement, Ken Cockrell Jr.

APPROVED On May 6, Maine became the fifth state to legalize **gay marriage**, while Washington, D.C., agreed to recognize same-sex unions performed elsewhere.



James

Poniewozik

The Breedy Bunch. How cable's megafamily reality shows captivate parents and push our social buttons

ONE OF THE SADDEST THINGS ABOUT THE saga of Nadya Suleman, or Octomom, was her seeming belief that having octuplets via in vitro fertilization would make her beloved like Angelina Jolie. Fat chance. To be a parent is less to be loved than to be judged—even if you haven't fired your charity nannies and disappointed Dr. Phil. You are feeding your kids wrong, teaching them wrong, putting them to bed wrong. Having had 14 kids, Suleman is judged fourteenfold.

With Jolie-dom off the menu, Suleman has reportedly sought a reality-TV deal. But cracking today's field of giant-family reality shows could prove tougher than giving birth to octuplets. TLC, once the Learning Channel, is now so devoted to breeding, it could be called the Labor Channel. It airs *Jon & Kate Plus 8* (a family with eight kids), *Table for 12* (10 kids) and *18 Kids and Counting* (you guessed it), about the Duggar family, which evidently plans to exhaust the / chapter in the baby name book (Josh, Jana, John David, Jill ...).

The audiences, like the families, are teeming: *Jon & Kate* scored 4.6 million viewers for its season finale. Why? These shows offer drama, cute kids and sweet, sweet judgment. They take parenting, the oldest human activity—O.K., the second oldest—and turn it into something exotic, thrilling, even countercultural.

Big families used to be a staple of TV:

Eight Is Enough, *The Brady Bunch*, *The Waltons*, *The Partridge Family*. When American families with three or more children were common, these clans weren't outlandish.

Family-planning is the practical application of all those political buzzwords: family values, life, choice, our children's futures

They were like you, just more so. Lately, TV families have gotten smaller, just like viewers' families. (An exception, the HBO polygamist drama *Big Love*, is, tellingly, a niche show set in a niche culture.)

The downsizing of fictional TV families left a gap that cable has happily filled. But where the Bradys et al. stressed the families' normality, the TLC shows are all about extreme parenting. Things as



simple as family movie night, a dentist visit and a beach trip become quasi-military operations. Just watching *Table for 12*'s Hayes family disable the antitheft packaging on 70 Christmas presents makes this father-of-two's hands hurt.

In a bad economy, the shows have a hot button appeal. Today TLC's shows make literal a cold truth: that deciding how many kids to have is about not just love but also money. (One side effect of the recession: vasectomies have skyrocketed.) No-nonsense Kate Gosselin of *Jon & Kate*—who had twins, then sextuplets, through fertility treatments—puts it plainly: "The cost of everything times eight is ridiculous." The Gosselins have defrayed those costs through corporate freebies—bikes, toys, personal services—and, of course, the show, which, Kate told *Ladies' Home Journal*, is "our family job." When hubby

Jon got in hot water in the tabloids recently for being seen out with female "friends," it was, among other things, bad business.

So megafamilies invite admiration and condemnation at the same time. On the one hand, there's no greater act of faith than filling up a house with kids and trusting that ends will somehow meet. On the other hand: Just how *do* they plan to make ends meet? Aren't these just more overconsuming Americans in over their heads? What about the carbon footprint of all those diapers? (Hence TLC hooked up the Gosselins with solar panels in the special *Jon & Kate Plus 8 Go Green!*)

That's the beauty of megafamily

shows: left, right and center can find reasons to love and judge. Family-planning is the ground zero where the personal meets the political—where the rubber, or the lack of one, meets the road. It's the practical application of all those buzzwords: family values, life, choice, our children's futures. That's why we freaked over Octomom; it's why Sarah Palin's fans and fox fixated so much on her pregnancy and her daughter's.

The TLC show with the most explicit cultural politics is *18 Kids*, whose Duggars espouse a pro-life, Evangelical Christianity. (The dad, Jim-Bob, was an Arkansas legislator and ran for Senate in 2002.) They

homeschool, reject evolution and eschew pop culture—except *Today* show visits and their series—and when the kids watch a DVD, an elder daughter puts a hand on the screen to hide a character's immodest dress. Watching Jim-Bob criticize Hollywood moviemaking—"It might make money for companies, but it's not good for individuals"—you're staring at the strange no-man's-land where conservative and liberal anticorporate rhetoric overlap.

Yet there's much to identify with, even for a godless dad like me. That's refreshing, when so much of politics divides people on family values. I may not share the Duggars' worldview—or the Hayeses' or the Gosselins'—but I share their job: creating a small, functional community. Or in their case, a large one. It takes a village to raise a child, they say. But how many of us have the guts to raise a village? ■

Innovation is not your friend.

Innovation is great.

Unless you're the thing being innovated.

Just look around you. Millions of analog TVs will become obsolete this year thanks to broadcast innovations. Rows of lonely pay phones stand idle in cities full of cell phones. And I shudder to think what will happen to all our MP3 players after we begin beaming songs directly to our brains.

Will they just end up in History's landfill? Un-used and un-recycled? If that's innovation, I'll pass.

At Post Shredded Wheat, we don't innovate—we invigorate. Take Honey Nut Shredded Wheat. Did we cast aside the one natural ingredient we've been using since 1892 for something new? No. We kept it, baked natural honey and real nuts inside of it, and sent it back out into the world, good as new.

Now, that's a tasty stimulus package.



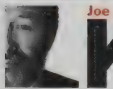
Frank Druffel



"We put the 'no' in innovation"

See Frank in action at ThePalaceOfLight.com





Joe

Klein

The Fire This Time. Democrats are preparing another push for universal health care. It might actually succeed

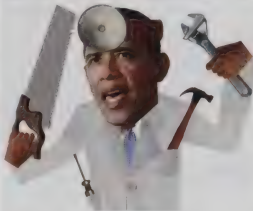
ECONOMIC CRISES COME AND GO, BUT entitlements are forever. The Great Depression eventually dissipated, but Franklin Roosevelt's crown jewel—the Social Security system—is still with us. And so it will be with the Obama Administration. The early headlines have been all about the President's efforts to repair the financial system and jump-start the economy. If he succeeds, he probably will be re-elected. But Barack Obama's place in history will be determined by the long-term structural changes he initiates, and his most important legacy battle is just beginning as Congress tackles the holy grail of modern liberalism, a universal health-care system.

The President has been clever about this. He hasn't made it the centerpiece of his Administration—and a fat target for his opponents—as Bill Clinton did. He hasn't proposed a specific plan, allowing, instead, a proposal to percolate through the Congress. "Everything about this process seems the polar opposite of 15 years ago," says John Rother of AARP. "The Administration seems determined not to make the same mistakes as Clinton did."

Indeed, Democrats have a history of strategic idiocy when it comes to health care. Nearly 40 years ago, Richard Nixon proposed a universal system in which employers would be required to pay for their employees' coverage, but Democrats blocked it because they favored a government-run single-payer system. Twenty years later, Bill and Hillary Clinton proposed a system similar to Nixon's—but failed to bring aboard moderate Republicans, who favored a universal system based on requiring individuals

rather than employers to participate. In the 2008 campaign, Obama and Hillary Clinton proposed plans that looked very much like the 1993 Republican scheme—do you detect a pattern here?—and the congressional debate, which will take place this summer, begins there.

This time, with significant Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress, there is real optimism that a universal plan will be passed and enacted. But Clinton also had Democratic majorities—and strong public approval, at first. This time, because of the rules agreed on in the arcane budget process,



Democrats will need only a simple majority vote in the Senate. But the process could run into the same two roadblocks that caused universal health insurance to fail in the past: the specter of "socialized medicine" and the fear that the cost of the program will, like that of other entitlements, spiral out of control.

In the 2008 campaign, Obama and Clinton worked overtime to assure voters that if they liked their current health-care coverage, they could keep it—that is, the system would remain a private one, presided over by a more strictly regulated insurance industry. And in the months since the election, the insurers have indicated that they will play ball: they've said they will cover everyone, at the same rate, regardless of pre-existing

condition. (There are caveats: the details of health insurance are devilish, and pitched battles are fought over arcane too obscure to cover in this space.) But more-liberal Democrats have decided to press the issue. They have proposed a "public" health-insurance option, similar to Medicare. They argue, correctly, that the profits made by insurance companies are a good part of what makes health care so expensive in the U.S. and that a public option is needed to keep the insurers honest. Needless to say, the insurers are vehemently opposed to this and will unleash a torrent of negative advertising and lobbying power if the final bill includes it.

The President recently told a remarkable story about his grandmother. In the last months of her life—she was dying of cancer—she broke her hip and received a hip replacement from Medicare. "I don't know how much that hip replacement cost," Obama told the *New York Times*, and he questioned whether giving people "a hip replacement when they're terminally ill is a sustainable model." This is the most sensitive health-care issue imaginable. But the question of whether the government can decide which health-care treatments are appropriate is central to whether an affordable universal system can be devised. Part of the answer is implicit in the electronic medical records

system that Obama has proposed: it will be easier to determine which treatments are cheaper and more effective. The other part of the answer involves an essential change in Medicare, from fee-for-service to a managed-care system that decides whether a hip replacement is necessary for a terminal cancer patient. Since most of the baby boomers about to enter the Medicare system have been living with managed care for the past 20 years, a gradual transition may not be impossible.

My guess is that the public option is a bargaining chip that will be cashed in to gain support from moderate Republicans and Democrats as crunch time approaches. The real battle, and the fate of this liberal dream, will be fought over what gets covered and who decides. ■


Democrats have a history of strategic idiocy when it comes to health care

Hold on tight. The day isn't over yet.

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Is the Party Over?

Lacking leadership and fresh ideas, the GOP has officially entered the political wilderness. It could take years to find the way back

BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD

THESE DAYS, REPUBLICANS HAVE THE DESPERATE aura of an endangered species. They lost Congress, then the White House; more recently, they lost a slam-dunk House election in a conservative New York district, then Senator Arlen Specter. Polls suggest that only one-fourth of the electorate considers itself Republican, that independents are trending Democratic and that as few as five states have solid Republican pluralities. And the electorate is getting less white, less rural, less Christian—in short, less demographically Republican. GOP officials who completely controlled Washington three years ago are vowing to “regain our status as a national party” and creating woe-is-us groups to resuscitate their brand, while Democrats are publishing books like *The Strange Death of Republican America* and *40 More Years: How the Democrats Will Rule the Next Generation*. John McCain’s campaign manager recently described his party as basically extinct on the West Coast, nearly extinct in the Northeast and endangered in the Mountain West and Southwest.

So are the Republicans going extinct? And can the death march be stopped?

The Washington critiques of the Republican Party as powerless, leaderless and rudderless—the new Donner party—are not very illuminating. Minority parties always look weak and inept in the penalty box. Sure, it can be comical to watch





Who Speaks for the GOP?

The party's would-be leaders range from moderate to archconservative—but none have managed to develop broad appeal

THE PRAGMATISTS



Olympia Snowe
Perhaps the most liberal Senate Republican, she fears that the GOP is isolated from voters

Charlie Crist
The Florida governor is a tax cutter, but he's also an environmentalist who backed Obama's stimulus

John McCain
He lost big in 2008, but it's hard to imagine another Republican with more bipartisan appeal

Tom Cole
One of the sharpest minds in the House, Oklahoma's Cole believes his party will come back

Haley Barbour
The Mississippi governor oversaw the GOP's last surge and says its new goal must be 51% of voters

Mitt Romney
He was a moderate governor, then a conservative presidential contender. What next?

Michael Steele
The new GOP chairman is under fire for quirky messaging and uneven management

Republican National Committee (RNC) gaffe machine Michael Steele riff on his hip-hop vision for the party or Texas Governor Rick Perry carry on about secession or Minnesota Congresswoman Michele Bachmann explain how F.D.R.'s "Hoot Smalley" Act caused the Depression (the Smoot-Hawley Act, a Republican tariff bill, was enacted before F.D.R.'s presidency), but haplessness does not equal hopelessness. And yes, the Republican brand could benefit from spokesmen less familiar and less reviled than Karl Rove, Dick Cheney and Newt Gingrich, but the party does have some fresher faces stepping out of the wings.

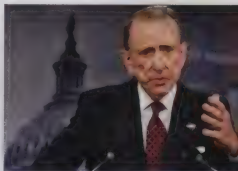
The Democratic critiques of the GOP—that it's the Party of No, or No Ideas—are not helpful either. It's silly to fault an opposition party for opposition; obstructionism helped return Democrats to power. Republicans actually have plenty of ideas.

That's the problem. The party's ideas—about economic issues, social issues and just about everything else—are not popular ideas. They are extremely conservative ideas tarred by association with the extremely unpopular George W. Bush, who helped downsize the party to its extremely conservative base. A hard-right agenda of slashing taxes for the investor class, protecting marriage from gays, blocking universal health insurance and extolling the glories of waterboarding produces terrific ratings for Rush Limbaugh, but it's not a majority agenda. The party's new, Hooverish focus on austerity on the brink of another depression does not seem to fit the national mood, and it's shamelessly hypocritical, given the party's recent history of massive

deficit spending on pork, war and prescription drugs in good times, not to mention its continuing support for deficit-exploding tax cuts in bad times.

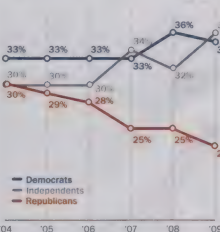
As the party has shrunk to its base, it has catered even more to its base's biases, insisting that the New Deal made the Depression worse, carbon emissions are fine for the environment and tax cuts actually boost revenues—even though the vast majority of historians, scientists and economists disagree. The RNC is about to vote on a kindergartenish resolution to change the name of its opponent to the Democrat Socialist Party. This plays well with hard-core culture warriors and tea-party activists convinced that a dictator-President is plotting to seize their guns, choose their doctors and put ACORN in charge of the Census, but it ultimately produces even more shrinkage, which gives the base even more influence—and the death spiral continues. "We're excluding the young, minorities, environmentalists, pro choice—the list goes on," says Olympia Snowe of Maine, one of two moderate Republicans left in the Senate after Specter's switch. "Ideological purity is not the ticket to the promised land."

Some conservatives think that in the long run, the party will be better off without squishes like Specter muddling the coherence of its brand; a GOP campaign committee celebrated his departure with an e-mail headlined *GOOD RIDDANCE*, and Limbaugh urged him to take McCain along. Inside this echo chamber, a center-right nation punished Republicans for abandoning their principles, for enabling Bush's spending spree, for insufficient conservatism. South



The GOP Is Losing Ground on Party Identification ...

Self-identifying Republicans, as a percentage of adults, have plunged since 2004



Source: Pew Research Center. 2004-08 data based on average of yearly surveys of 22,724-35,702 people, with a margin of error of $\pm 1\%$. 2009 data based on 7,127 interviews conducted January-April, with a margin of error $\pm 1.5\%$.

**Bobby Jindal**

The Louisiana governor is a conservative wunderkind, but his State of the Union response felt flat

Eric Cantor

At age 45, the party's No. 2 man in the House has begun his hunt for a governing agenda

Paul Ryan

The smart, young, telegenic policy wonk produced the alternative, really conservative GOP budget

Newt Gingrich

He revived the party in the 1990s but remains a symbol of hyperpartisanship

Mark Sanford

South Carolina's governor declined stimulus money. Republicans in his state aren't so happy

Sarah Palin

Alaska's governor is beloved by the pro-life, pro-gun right. But centrists don't like her

Rush Limbaugh

The radio-talk show host still holds considerable sway over the conservative rank and file

Arlen Specter

When the moderate Senator followed 200,000 Pennsylvania Republicans to the Democratic Party, some Republicans said, Good riddance. But you can't have a center-right coalition when you've said good riddance to the center

Carolina Governor Mark Sanford, who has refused to accept \$700 million in stimulus cash for his state despite bitter opposition from his GOP-dominated legislature, argues that Chick-fil-A would never let its franchisees cook their chicken however they want; why should the Republican Party let its elected officials promote Big Government? "We're essentially franchisees, and right now nobody has any clue what we're really about," Sanford tells TIME. "You can't wear the jersey and play for the other team!"

No one seems to deny that many Republicans abandoned their principles—especially fiscal responsibility—while in power, but even some across-the-board conservatives see enforced homogeneity as a sure path to oblivion. "Chick-fil-A can get fabulously wealthy with a 20% market share," scoffs Mississippi Governor Haley Barbour, President Ronald Reagan's political director. "In our business, you need 50% plus one." It's probably true that since 200,000 Pennsylvania Republicans have switched parties, Specter followed them to save his own political skin, but it's hard to see how the mass exodus bodes well for the GOP. You can't have a center-right coalition when you've said good riddance to the center.

Of course, politics can change in a hurry. Three years ago, books like *One Party Country* and *Building Red America* were heralding Rove's plan to create a permanent Republican majority. President Barack Obama is popular today, but Democrats in general are not, and they will all face a backlash if they can't reverse this economic tailspin now that they own all the Washington machinery. Tom Cole, a longtime Republican

operative turned Oklahoma Congressman, recalls that shortly before the Reagan Revolution, the GOP was in such dire straits, it ran ads declaring that Republicans are people too. "We've lost our way, but we'll find our way back," Cole says. "We'll get back into the idea business, and the Democrats will overreach."

With his dramatic plans to restructure Wall Street and Detroit, overhaul health care and create a clean-energy economy, Obama is certainly taking political risks, even if he hasn't gotten around to replacing the almighty dollar with some new, one-world currency the black helicopter crowd keeps warning about. But it's not clear that the Republicans in their current incarnation would be a credible alternative if he falters. "We've got to be at least plausible, and I worry about that," says GOP lobbyist Ed Rogers. Republicans never really left the idea business, but Americans haven't been buying what they're selling, and their product line hasn't changed. They're starting to look like the Federalists of the early 19th century: an embittered, over-the-top, out-of-touch regional party en route to extinction, doubling down on dogma the electorate has already rejected. Our two-party system encourages periodic pendulum swings, but given current trends, it's easy to imagine a third party in the U.S.

At this rate, it could be the Republican Party.

"What Have We Got to Lose?"

HOUSE REPUBLICANS, EAGER TO SHED THE Party of No label, recently unveiled an alternative to Obama's 2010 budget. It was the

... and on the Key Issues

Voters' confidence in how both parties approach problems

Democrats or Republicans**Education****Health Care****Economy****Foreign Affairs****War on Terrorism****Taxes**

Source: New Models, based on a survey of 1,000 registered voters conducted March 24-25, with a margin of error of ±3.1%.

kind of fiasco that shows why Washington thinks Republicans are in trouble—and why they really are in trouble.

The disaster began when GOP leaders, after calling a news conference to blast Obama's numbers, released a budget outline with no numbers—just magic assumptions about “reform.” The mockery was instantaneous. Then Republicans began blaming one another for the stunt, which generated only more mockery about circular firing squads. And when they finally released the missing details on April 1, the notion of an April Fools’ budget produced even more mockery; the substance was ignored. “The President’s dog got more attention,” recalls Paul Ryan, the top Republican on the House Budget Committee.

But if you pay attention, the GOP alternative is not just a p.r. disaster. It’s a radical document, making Bush’s tax cuts permanent while adding about \$3 trillion in new tax cuts skewed toward the rich. It would replace almost all the stimulus—including tax cuts for workers as well as spending on schools, infrastructure and clean energy—with a capital gains–tax holiday for investors. Oh, and it would shrink the budget by replacing Medicare with vouchers, turning Medicaid into block grants, means-testing Social Security and freezing everything else except defense and veterans’ spending for five years, putting programs for food safety, financial regulation, flu vaccines and every other sacred government cow on the potential chopping block.

Ryan is one of the smart, young, telegenic policy wonks who have been hailed as the GOP’s future, and his budget includes relatively few the-Lord-shall-provide accounting gimmicks by D.C. standards. He knows its potential cuts could sound nasty in a 30-second ad, but he wants Republicans to stop running away from limited-government principles. “We’ve got to stop being afraid of the politics,” he says. “At this point, what have we got to lose?”

Well, more elections. Big Government is never popular in theory, but the disaster aid, school lunches and prescription drugs that make up Big Government have become wildly popular in practice, especially now that so many people are hurting. Samuel Wurzelbacher, better known as Joe the Plumber, tells *TIME* he’s so outraged by GOP overspending, he’s quitting the party—and he’s the bull’s-eye of its target audience. But he also said he wouldn’t support any cuts in defense, Social Security, Medicare or Medicaid—which, along with debt payments, would put more than two-thirds of the budget off limits. It’s no coincidence that many Republicans who voted against the stimulus have claimed credit for stimulus projects in their district—or that Louisi-



Hallowed hall A room at the Republican National Committee is a shrine to the GOP’s glory days—an increasingly distant memory

ana Governor Bobby Jindal stopped ridiculing volcano-monitoring programs after a volcano erupted in Alaska. “We can’t be the antigovernment party,” Snowe says. “That’s not what people want.”

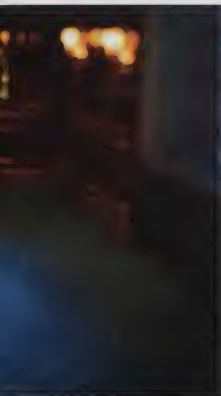
Not even in South Carolina, not now. Sanford has gone further than any other governor in passing up the Democrats’ stimulus money, but he’s turning down only 10% of his state’s share, about 2% of his state’s spending. He is still being portrayed as Scrooge, a heartless ideologue who wants to close prisons, fire teachers, shutter programs for autistic kids and ultimately shut down state government during a recession. And those portrayals aren’t coming from Democrats. “The governor has one of the

most radical philosophies I’ve ever seen,” says state senator Hugh Leatherman, 78, the Republican chairman of the finance committee. “I’m a conservative, but this could be the most devastating thing our state has ever seen.” To Sanford, Leatherman is a fraudulent Republican franchisee, but to most Republicans in the legislature, the governor is the one tarnishing the brand. “Most of us are Ronald Reagan Republicans, Strom Thurmond Republicans,” grumbles Senate majority leader Harvey Peeler. “Republicans control everything around here. It would be nice if we could accomplish something.”

Sanford was once a lonely voice for fiscal restraint in Congress, one of the few Republican revolutionaries of 1994 who kept faith with the Contract with America. Back then, his bumper stickers said DEFICIT with a *Ghostbusters*-style slash through it, and his apocalyptic speeches chronicled how debt had destroyed great civilizations like the Byzantine Empire. I watched him give an updated version at a tea party rally in Columbia, S.C., on April 15 as the crowd screamed about Obama’s tyranny and waved signs like KEEP THE GOVERNMENT OUT OF OUR HEALTH CARE and USA 1776-2009, RIP. Sanford himself is not a screamer; he’s a provocateur. “We’ve become a

‘We’ve lost our way, but we’ll get back into the idea business, and the Democrats will overreach.’

—REPRESENTATIVE TOM COLE
OF OKLAHOMA



GOP Memories

A display at RNC headquarters celebrates the party's history. See photos at time.com/gop

party of pastry chefs, telling people they can eat all the dessert they want," he says. "We need to become a party of country doctors, telling people that this medicine won't taste good at all, but you need it."

It's principled leadership, but only the tea-party fringe seems to be following. "Nobody likes Dr. Doom," Sanford says with a smile. Leading a state with the nation's third highest unemployment rate, he understands the Keynesian idea that only government spending can jump-start a recessionary economy: "I get it. I'm supposed to be *proactive*." But if spend-and-borrow is the only alternative to a depression, he says, "then we're toast."

The Old Issue Set

HIS PARTY COULD BE TOO. HISPANICS, Asians and blacks are on track to be the majority in three decades; metropolitan voters and young voters who skew Democratic are also on the rise. This is why Rogers recently decided to quit being a talking head: "I had a meeting with myself, and I said, Do we really need more white lobbyists with gray hair on TV?" But it's not clear that more diverse spokesmen or better tweets can woo a new generation to the GOP; support for gay rights is soaring, and

polls show that voters prefer Democratic approaches to health care, education and the economy. "The outlook for Republicans is even worse than people think," says Ruy Teixeira, author of *The Emerging Democratic Majority*. "Their biggest problem is that they really believe what they believe."

So Republicans need to decide what Republicans need to believe. What does their three-legged stool of strong defense, traditional values and economic conservatism mean today? Does strong defense mean unqualified support for torture, outdated weapons systems and pre-emptive wars? Do traditional values mean no room in the tent for pro-choicers like Specter and Snow? Even Joe the Plumber—who opposes abortion and homosexuality and considers America a "Christian nation"—wants the party to drop its "holier than thou" attitude on divisive social issues.

The most urgent question is the meaning of economic conservatism. Representative Patrick McHenry of North Carolina, a conservative who keeps a bust of Reagan on his desk, surprised me by declaring that the Reagan era is over. "Marginal tax rates are the lowest they've been in generations, and all we can talk about is tax cuts," he said. "The people's desires have changed, but we're still stuck in our old issue set." Snowe recalls that when she proposed fiscally conservative "triggers" to limit Bush's tax cuts in case of deficits, she was attacked by fellow Republicans. "I don't know when willy-nilly tax cuts became the essence of who we are," she says. "To the average American who's struggling, we're in some other stratosphere. We're the party of Big Business and Big Oil and the rich." In the Bush era, the party routinely sided with corporate lobbyists—promoting tax breaks, subsidies and earmarks for well-wired industries—against ordinary taxpayers as well as basic principles of fiscal restraint. South Carolina Senator Jim DeMint's Republican alternative to the stimulus included tax cuts skewed toward the wealthy; at this point, the GOP's reflexes are almost involuntary.

Now that they've lost their monopoly on power, many Republicans are warning that spending-fueled deficits will cause inflation, reduce demand for U.S. Treasuries and shaft future generations. They don't seem so worried about an imminent depression, which would explode deficits in addition to the shorter-term pain, and their newfound fear of borrowing has not cooled their ardor for budget-busting tax cuts. "They talk about fiscal restraint, but they've got an atrocious record, and they've still got atrocious plans," says Robert Bixby, executive director of the nonpartisan Concord Coalition.

Still, a 2012 presidential candidate could catch lightning in a bottle, Reagan-style or Susan Boyle-style—although when you think about it, Republicans found a nationally admired war hero with proven bipartisan appeal in 2008, and he lost to an inexperienced black liberal with a funny name. Outside Washington, moderates like Charlie Crist in Florida and Jodi Rell in Connecticut as well as pragmatic conservatives like Mitch Daniels in Indiana and Jon Huntsman in Utah have remained popular despite their brand. They all share an aversion to ideological rigidity: Rell signed a bill legalizing same-sex unions, Crist has pushed an ambitious environmental agenda, Daniels proposed a tax increase, and Huntsman has cautioned Republicans not to obsess about social issues.

There's always the chance that some new issue—immigration? Iran? cap and trade? something nobody has thought of yet?—will blow up and bring the GOP back to life. Maybe one of the new GOP chin-stroking groups will come up with some killer new ideas to help the party reconnect with ordinary Americans. But Republicans know their best hope for recovery, whether they say it like Limbaugh or merely think it, is Democratic failure. Now that Democrats control both Congress and the White House, hubris is a real possibility; it's hard to imagine Obama floating his pitiful plan to cut \$100 million in waste—a mere 0.0025% of federal spending—if he had to worry about a formidable opposition.

The problem for Republicans, as the RNC's Steele memorably put it in a TV appearance, is that there's "absolutely no reason, none, to trust our word or our actions." Republicans, after all, proclaimed that President Clinton's tax hikes would destroy the economy, that GOP rule would mean smaller government, that Bush's tax cuts would usher in a new era of prosperity; now the House minority leader says it's "comical" to think carbon dioxide could be harmful, and Steele says the earth is cooling.

Polls show that most Republicans who haven't jumped ship want the party to move even further right; it takes vision to imagine a presidential candidate with national appeal emerging from a GOP primary in 2012. DeMint, the South Carolina Senator, greeted Specter's departure with the astonishing observation that he'd rather have 30 Republican colleagues who believe in conservatism than 60 who don't. "I don't want us to have power until we have principles," DeMint told *TIME* after firing up that tea-party crowd in Columbia. Voters certainly soured on unprincipled Republicans. But it's not clear they'd like principled Republicans better. ■



They Only Look Dead

To rise again, Republicans must return to first principles and accept the realities of a new age

YOU COULD FORGIVE REPUBLICAN LEADERS for rolling their eyes this past week as they read obituaries declaring the death of the GOP. After all, many Washington pundits had already declared the Republican Party dead following its defeats in 1964, 1974 and 1992. The Democratic Party was also written off after taking a beating in 2004, with Republicans and Democrats alike debating whether George W. Bush's re-election would usher in a permanent Republican majority.

If it did, the Era of Republican Supremacy lasted a total of two years.

With that as our historic backdrop, I suggest that political commentators sit back, take a deep breath and relax. The Republican Party will not be leaving the political arena anytime soon. Take a quick look at Senate races in three of the bluest of blue states: polls show that in Connecticut, New York and Illinois, Republican challengers are handily ahead of Democratic incumbents, despite the fact that President Barack Obama won those states last year by an average of 25%. If history is any guide, Republicans will also pick up House seats in 2010.

But those gains could be fleeting. There's no question that Republican leaders must rebuild their party's brand after a decade of disastrous rule. To do so they should follow the advice of their first President, Abraham Lincoln, who told a beleaguered Congress during the darkest days of the Civil War that it was time to think anew.

The first thing Republicans must do is move past the current definition of conservatism. Let's face it. American conservatism is now associated with wasteful spending, military adventurism and ideological conformity. The GOP took a

\$155 billion surplus and turned it into a \$1.5 trillion debt. George W. Bush and the Republican Congress also allowed federal spending to grow at its fastest clip since the Great Society, while adding a \$7 trillion burden to a Medicare program already headed toward bankruptcy.

On the international stage, Bush dismissed Colin Powell's disciplined approach to foreign policy in favor of one that guaranteed the ending of tyranny for all mankind. By Bush's second term, the GOP's foreign policy objectives were



Role models Burke and Reagan understood that to flourish, conservatism requires restraint



so utopian that even Woodrow Wilson would have been aghast.

Perhaps most damaging to the Republican brand is the fact that GOP leaders have allowed themselves to be defined too easily as rigid ideologues, blindly faithful to an unyielding agenda. Because of that, Obama has been able to move America dangerously leftward while blaming Republicans for the partisan divide.

For the better part of 200 years, conservatives followed a different path. British statesman Edmund Burke was the movement's founder. A fierce critic of the French Revolution, Burke had contempt for rigid ideologues of all stripes and instead attached conservatism to restraint, custom and convention.

Burke's thinking can be summed up easily: Respect reality. Understand the age you're living in, and understand its facts. As William F. Buckley said more than

two years before his death, "Conservatism implies a certain submission to reality." But the approach championed by Burke and Buckley is a far cry from the mind-set embraced by today's Republican Party.

If the GOP is to move toward victory, it must again find the middle of American political life and stop being seen the way liberals were viewed for a generation: as tone-deaf ideologues mixed with self-consumed radicals. Don't get me wrong. I do not believe that conservative leaders should seek out a mushy middle ground. Rather, they should boldly call for a new era of responsibility in the U.S.

Instead of building empires abroad, Republicans should aim to balance their books at home. We should not only fight to conserve tax dollars but also work as aggressively to defend the environment. As Reagan once said, conservatives are supposed to conserve.

We should erase the shabby standards of financial oversight that have weakened us all in the age of Bernie Madoff. Corporate bailouts need to end—but Republicans must be determined to never again adopt a laissez-faire approach to Wall Street. After Black Monday, the Asian crisis, Long Term Capital Management's meltdown, the Internet bust, the Enron scandal, WorldCom's collapse and the subprime crisis, there is nothing conservative about turning a blind eye to reckless speculation and greed.

The time for restraint is upon us—at home, abroad, in our markets and toward our environment. If Republicans once again embrace first principles, they can revive what Russell Kirk called "the forgotten genius of conservatism."

But the time to think anew is now. ■

GOP leaders have allowed themselves to be defined as rigid ideologues, blindly faithful to an unyielding agenda

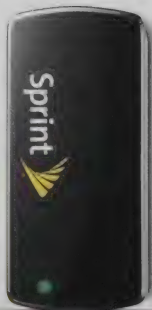
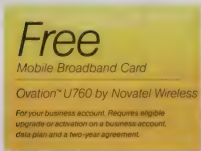
Scarborough, a former GOP Congressman, is the host of MSNBC's Morning Joe and ABC Radio's The Joe Scarborough Show. His book *The Last Best Hope* is out in June

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How to Prepare for a Pandemic

The H1N1 virus may be fizzling out for now, but new diseases will always threaten us—unless we strengthen our global warning system

BY BRYAN WALSH

First response
Where H1N1 spread, masks followed (above, in Hong Kong) in an effort to stem the new flu virus

IT'S FITTING THAT IN A BOOMING metropolis of 20 million people, the first sign that Mexico City had been recalled to life wasn't a public religious ceremony or a political rally but a traffic jam. After a weeklong shutdown in response to the H1N1 flu outbreak, on May 5—Cinco de Mayo—Mexico City began to stir again. The spread of the swine flu had slowed, leading Mexican officials to hope that the worst had passed. "Our strategy is working," said Mexican President Felipe Calderón. "We are now in a position to gradually resume our everyday activities."

International health officials who had been on high alert since reports of a new influenza virus first surfaced in late April had also begun to relax—just a bit. Scientists at the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) found few serious or deadly cases outside Mexico and little evidence of sustained spread of the disease in most countries. Though by May 6 the virus had infected 1,516 people in 22 countries—including 642 in the U.S., where two people have died from it—and the world was still officially on the brink of a pandemic, the mood had cooled considerably at CDC headquarters in Atlanta. "We're not out of the woods," said Dr. Richard Besser, the CDC's acting director, but "we are seeing a lot of encouraging signs."

So, were the hundreds of U.S. school closures and the presidential press conferences about hand-washing much ado about not that much? Unfortunately not. As health officials pointed out repeatedly, we're still in the early days of the H1N1 outbreak, and influenza viruses are notoriously unpredictable. Right now the new disease seems to be no more dangerous than the seasonal flu (researchers who have examined the genetic code of the H1N1 virus say it appears to lack key mutations that made past pandemic-causing viruses so deadly), but H1N1 could return next winter in a more lethal form—just as the virus that caused the catastrophic 1918 pandemic did. "This is a situation that can evolve," said Dr. Keiji Fukuda, the WHO's interim assistant director-general for health, security and the environment. "If it does turn severe, this is something we have to jump on."

The reality is that while health officials in the U.S. and the rest of the world deserve praise for their comprehensive response to the new flu virus, H1N1 wasn't a true test of our mettle but a warning shot. "We should look at this as a wake-up call, not one more snooze alarm," says Dr. Irwin Redlener, the director of the National Center for Disaster Preparedness at Columbia University.

H1N1 makes clear how vulnerable our interconnected globe is to emerging diseases. As a result of jet travel and international trade, a new pathogen managed to seed itself in more than 20 countries in less than two weeks. But while globalization has its liabilities, it is also a strength because it gives us the tools to create a truly international disease-surveillance system. And the threat of a pandemic should remind us that we must fill the gaps in the creaky U.S. health-care system; during an infectious-disease outbreak, everyone will be at risk. "We live in one world, with one health," says Dr. Juan Lubroth, a senior officer at the U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization.

A Viral Early-Warning System

WE MISSED H1N1 WHEN IT WAS STILL just swine flu because we weren't looking for it. There's only scattered surveillance for pig diseases in the U.S. and Canada; in Mexico, there's even less. According to the American Association of Swine Veterinarians (AASV), there were few reports of unusual sickness in the months leading up to the H1N1 outbreaks—not that vets would have necessarily noticed, since flu in swine is common and rarely serious. "We haven't seen anything that would have tipped us off," says Dr. Tom Burkgren, AASV's executive director.

Why should we spend scarce medical resources swabbing the inside of pigs' nostrils, looking for viruses? Because new pathogens—including H5N1 bird flu, SARS, even HIV—incubated in animal populations before eventually crossing over to human beings. In the ecology of influenza, pigs are particularly key. They can be infected with avian, swine and human flu viruses, making them virological blenders. While it's still not clear exactly where the H1N1 virus originated or when it first infected humans, if we had half as clear a

THE H1N1 TOLL

29

Deaths attributed to the virus in Mexico, the epicenter of the new flu outbreak

2

Deaths from the virus outside Mexico, both in the U.S.

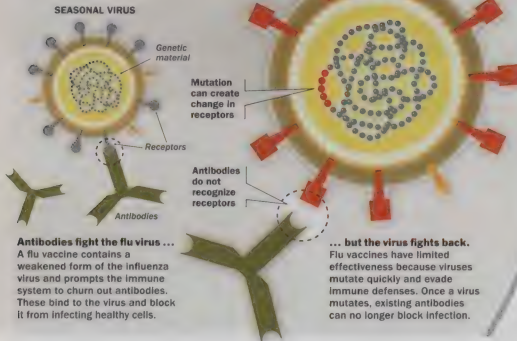
\$3 TRILLION

Global cost of a severe flu pandemic, as estimated by the World Bank in 2008

Building a Better Vaccine

Flu viruses hit us every year, but the way we produce vaccines against them is decades old—and time-consuming. Recent advances in genetics and molecular medicine may offer a more efficient method, cutting vaccine production time from months to weeks.

BY ALICE PARK



Current Vaccine

Flu shots take four to six months to produce, since they require growing, collecting and then testing millions of flu viruses from chicken eggs.

1 Egg Culture

At the start of the year, WHO officials identify which flu strains are most likely to circulate in the fall, then cultivate the live viruses in fertilized eggs. Yields vary depending on how well they grow.

2 Viral Harvest

After growing in the eggs for several days, the viruses are harvested and then purified into a solution safe for human use.

3 Purification

Drugmakers use chemicals to break up the viruses in order to deactivate the bugs and prevent them from causing disease. The viral fragments are concentrated into the final vaccine.

picture of the flu viruses circulating in pigs and other animals as we do of human flu viruses, we might have seen H1N1 coming. (When it comes to sniffing out new pathogens, says one epidemiologist, "we're like a drunk looking for his keys.") Faster genetic sequencing and the Internet give us the technological means to create an early-warning system. But we need to spend more on animal health and get doctors talking to their veterinarian counterparts. "For too long, the animal side of public health has been neglected," says Dr. William Karesh, vice president of the Wildlife Conservation Society's global health program.

H1N1 has already jumped out of animals and established itself in people, so it's too late to contain it, but there are new viruses brewing all the time in the animal world. That includes H5N1 bird flu, which is simmering in Asia and Africa and could still mutate and trigger a pandemic. Globalization has made us especially vulnerable to new diseases—the right pathogen in the right place could spread around the world in 24 hours—but it also gives us the tools to form an effective defense. "The fact that the world is one continuous village now means viruses that would have gone extinct be-

fore have the potential to take hold much more rapidly," says Nathan Wolfe, director of the Global Viral Forecasting Initiative (GVFI). "But it also means we can create a planetary immune system."

Wolfe's brainchild is a model of what that immune system might look like. With funding from the likes of Google, GVFI has teams on the ground in Africa and Asia surveilling wild animals and the people who live in proximity to them for new pathogens. These "sentinel populations" will provide early warning when a new virus emerges; if a dangerous disease is discovered as soon as it crosses from animals to people, quick action can contain it—but only if we're looking. "Tens of millions for surveillance could save us the hundreds of billions it would cost to deal with a pan-

demic," says Peter Daszak, president of the Wildlife Trust. "An ounce of prevention really is worth a pound of cure."

When a Pandemic Comes

THE OCCASIONAL PATHOGEN WILL GET through even the most vigilant early-warning system. Viruses, after all, are pretty good at what they do. A new flu pandemic is all but inevitable, and while the response to H1N1—the rapid deployment of Tamiflu, the blizzard of advice from the Federal Government—shows we're better prepared for a pandemic than ever before, it doesn't mean we're truly prepared. A virulent flu pandemic—one that spreads throughout the world and sickens 25% to 30% of Americans—would cause our health-care system to crash like an overloaded website. Partly because of recession-fueled budget cuts that have led to the loss of 10,000 jobs in state and local health agencies over the past year, our hospitals have little in the way of surge capacity—excess beds and ventilators—that would allow them to handle a sudden influx of sick patients. And there's no guarantee that those hospitals could remain staffed during the peak of a pandemic. "We haven't

'As a global community, we are only as strong as our weakest link.'

—DR. RICHARD BESSER, CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL AND PREVENTION

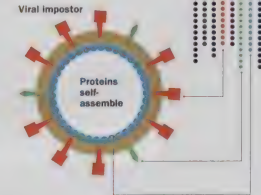
Future Vaccine

Gene-based vaccines obviate the need to grow whole viruses. They contain only snippets of the most relevant viral genes needed to prompt antibody production

GENETIC VACCINES

Testing in early-phase human trials

Researchers have pinpointed three viral proteins that arrange themselves enough like a live flu virus to fool the immune system into making antibodies. This shot takes 10 to 12 weeks to produce.



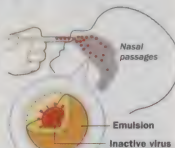
No-Shot Vaccine

Storing and administering flu shots is labor-intensive, so scientists are developing new, needle-free—and less painful—ways to deliver vaccines

NASAL EMULSION

Testing in animal studies

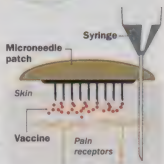
Researchers are perfecting a topical nasal spray that engulfs antigens, or parts of the flu virus, in an emulsion, which then triggers the immune system to produce antibodies.



SKIN PATCH

Testing in animal studies

Patches embedded with tiny needles may make vaccination less painful, which could encourage people who fear the syringe to get inoculated. And storing patches is easier and cheaper than storing bottled flu shots.



TIME Graphic by Lon Teetsten

tested what would happen if one-third of the public-health workforce were not available because they were sick or taking care of family members," says Robert Pestronk, executive director of the National Association of County and City Health Officials.

The disruption that a pandemic might cause outside the health sector—what Michael Osterholm, who heads the Center for Infectious Disease Research and Policy (CIDRAP), terms "collateral damage"—could be even worse. The "just in time" supply chain on which so many U.S. corporations rely leaves little slack and could buckle during a pandemic. In a report last year, CIDRAP noted that 40% of the U.S. coal supply, which generates half the nation's electricity, is shuttled from mines in Wyoming to the rest of the country by train. If a pandemic simultaneously sickened enough coal workers—or the tiny number of engineers qualified to operate those trains—supplies of coal could dwindle fast, switching off the lights in much of the country. "We'd be dealing with two calamities if a pandemic hit," says Osterholm. "The human morbidity from the flu and the collateral damage for the just-in-time economy."

Research by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine indicates that countries in the developing world are totally unprepared for a pandemic. That's especially true in Africa, where many nations lack pandemic plans altogether, even though high rates of HIV infection there would probably worsen the toll of flu. But there are international models the U.S. can follow. Hong Kong was ravaged by SARS in 2003, but today the city has 20 million courses of Tamiflu—three times its population. (The U.S. Federal Government has enough for just one-sixth of the population, with additional stockpiles held by states.) Holiday camps on the fringes of Hong Kong have been set up to serve as isolation wards, and the city has invested in epidemiology labs and more hospital beds. "Hong Kong really is the international gold standard when it comes to dealing with infectious disease," says Peter Cordingley, spokesman for the WHO's Western Pacific regional office.

Washington can and should continue to augment the country's antiviral stockpile and publish revised pandemic plans like the 396-page doomsday put out by the Department of Health and Human

Services in 2005. Increasing our capacity to manufacture and distribute flu vaccines within our borders is also a must. But truly preparing the country for a pandemic means tackling the basic flaws at the heart of the health-care system—starting with the some 50 million Americans who lack any health insurance. They're more likely to flood hospitals for care during a pandemic, further taxing what will be an overburdened system. "They're akin to the Typhoid Marys of the last century," says Columbia's Redlener. "They'll be spreading this disease in ways that are completely unpredictable."

The danger posed by the uninsured is another reminder that when it comes to infectious disease, we're all in this together. Sick pigs and sick people, a virus in Mexico and an infection in New Zealand—in a globalized world, microbial threats that seem far away can be on our doorstep in hours. "As a global community, we are only as strong as our weakest link," says the CDC's Besser. If we want to prevent the next pandemic—or at least survive it—we need to remember that. —WITH REPORTING BY ISHAAN THAROOR/HONG KONG AND EBEN HARRELL/LONDON

The Pontiff And the Jews

As Benedict visits the Holy Land, a look at why his views on Judaism are still causing tremors

BY DAVID VAN BIEMA

IN JANUARY, WHEN POPE BENEDICT XVI reversed the 1988 excommunication of four bishops of an ultra-traditionalist Catholic group called the Society of St. Pius X (SSPX), he probably knew it would ignite a firestorm. The church has significant unresolved problems with the society, among them its gross disobedience to the previous Pope. Benedict was determined to try to end a schism with a movement that exhibits a fervent piety he shares and is trying to encourage in Europe, where SSPX is strongest. But almost simultaneous with the Pope's announcement, a Swedish-TV interview surfaced in which SSPX bishop Richard Williamson matter-of-factly denied the existence of the Nazi gas chambers. The ensuing international outcry forced the Vatican to release a generalized condemnation of Holocaust denial—though it didn't rule out Williamson's return as a Roman Catholic bishop.

Then an unlikely figure entered the fray: Angela Merkel. German Chancellors don't usually weigh in on church matters, she said. But when the Vatican gave "the impression that it could be possible to deny that the Holocaust happened," she felt compelled to demand that the Pope repudiate the idea, lest it affect relations with "the Jewish people as a whole." In essence, Merkel (a Protestant) was tutoring the German Pope on his responsibilities to the Jews.

On May 11, Benedict arrives in Israel during an eight-day visit to the Holy Land, his first since becoming Pontiff. The trip is a near carbon copy of one made by his pre-



LUTING TERNER/EPH



New York moment Benedict XVI, right, with Park East rabbi Arthur Schneier in April 2008, was the first Pontiff to visit a synagogue in the U.S.

Relationship Issues. The Vatican and its Jewish problem

decessor John Paul II in 2000. The Vatican hopes to use the trip to build on its 44-year rapprochement with the world's Jews after centuries of conflict and persecution. During his papacy, John Paul became the first modern Pope to visit a synagogue, recognizing the state of Israel and apologize for the role Christians played in the Holocaust.

But since Benedict's election, his relations with Jews—although similar in broad outline to John Paul's—have been plagued by mixed messages that have caused critics to wonder whether he has botched the opportunity to redress past shortcomings and strengthen the church's ties to the Jewish people. Like John Paul, Benedict came of age in one of the Holocaust's European slaughterhouses, and many expected that the Bavarian, like the Pole, could turn his somber history into a special authority for combatting anti-Semitism and pursuing the pro-Jewish reforms the church enacted at the Second Vatican Council in 1965. But he hasn't done so. Instead, says David Gibson, the (Catholic) author of *The Rule of Benedict: Pope Benedict XVI and His Battle with the Modern World*, "here's a Pope who grew up under the Nazis, who witnessed this whole thing, a man with such an acute and vivid sense of language and experiences—and yet for whom one of the great dramas of the 20th century is somehow invisible in what he communicates."

Nobody thinks Benedict is an anti-Semite, and those close to him assert that aspersions on his enthusiasm are ridiculous. "He has written on the meaning of Judaism for Christianity," says Cardinal William Levada, his successor as Vatican doctrinal chief. "And he has also shown a fundamental sympathy that not even written words can have." But the Williamson affair was only the most recent episode in a series of gaffes and sour notes by the Pope. He seems simply to have forgotten Jewish concerns on a range of decisions regarding liturgy, sainthood and historical interpretation. In the case of SSPX, there is a distinct possibility that he knew full well he might offend Jews but went ahead anyway.

Rabbi James Rudin, senior interreligious adviser for the American Jewish Committee, notes that while "flash points happened with John Paul II as well, you always knew the Pope was committed to solving them. With Benedict, there's a sense of concerned bewilderment." Even after Benedict returns to the Vatican from the Holy Land, it's likely that he will still have to address skepticism about whether he shares John Paul's commitment to strengthening ties between Catholicism and Judaism—or whether he is willing to let his papacy be a tepid transition into a period of interfaith neglect.



OCT. 28, 1965

At Vatican II, the church adopts *Nostra Aetate*, which absolves the Jews of blame for the death of Jesus



APRIL 13, 1986

John Paul II becomes the first Pope to visit a synagogue, the Great Synagogue of Rome



MAY 28, 2006

Pope Benedict XVI gives a speech at Auschwitz but fails to mention anti-Semitism as a cause of the Holocaust

The Missteps

CONCERN ABOUT THE MUDDINESS OF Benedict's message first surfaced when he visited Auschwitz in 2006. Those attending the event were moved by his obvious emotion at the former death camp. But his address that day was marked by some highly peculiar ellipses. He failed to mention anti-Semitism, instead contending that "ultimately" the Nazis' motive in killing Jews was to "tear up the taproot of the Christian faith." And although he claimed to speak as a "son of the German people," Benedict seemed to downplay any ordinary-German implication in the Holocaust. Instead, he placed blame on a "ring of criminals [who] rose to power by false promises... through terror... with the result that our people was used and abused as an instrument of their thirst for destruction and power."

Both assertions are highly suspect. Although the German people as a group were not guilty of mass murder, neither were they innocent dupes throughout the process. And the idea that Hitler killed 6 million Jews to get at Christianity approaches the perverse. When Jewish groups complained, Benedict devoted a general audience to condemning anti-Semitism—although he revisited neither his church's nor his homeland's role in the Holocaust.

In 2007, the Pope raised eyebrows again, this time in widening the usage of the Tridentine Mass, commonly known as the Latin Mass. Jewish concern focused on the Tridentine prayer "for the conversion of the Jews," which is spoken on Good Friday, the anniversary of Christ's Crucifixion and historically an occasion for anti-Jewish

riots. Benedict made some conciliatory changes in the prayer's content but refused to drop the stated objective of "conversion," infuriating some Jewish leaders, who saw it as an unnecessary provocation.

Most troubling of all was Benedict's reinstatement of Williamson, a debacle whose full scope the Vatican seemed to recognize only the day after Merkel's upbraiding. The church demanded that Williamson recant his gas-chamber denial, and the Pontiff released a letter that deplored the strain between the church and the Jews resulting from his "mistake." He assured a visiting group of Israeli rabbis of his intent to deepen Catholic Jewish relations and his belief that the Jewish people "were chosen as the elected people" to communicate fidelity to God.

Was that message sufficient? Rabbi David Rosen, the Jerusalem-based chair of the umbrella International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations, says the Williamson affair is an "absolute gift" because it enabled the Pope to reiterate his affection for the Jews. Yet while Benedict may have been unaware of Williamson's Holocaust-denying interview, the Pope—who has been trying to pull the SSPX back into the fold for decades—must have been aware that anti-Semitism was something of an SSPX calling card. Says Eugene Fisher, a former Jewish-affairs expert for the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, who generally lauds Benedict's dealings with Jews: "I think he should have had a notion that this would be a problem. The society website had all this [anti-Jewish] stuff in it." By all appearances, Benedict chose to ignore it.



JULY 7, 2007

Benedict relaxes restrictions on the use of the Tridentine (Latin) Mass—which includes the Good Friday prayer for the conversion of the Jews



JAN. 24, 2009

The Pope revokes the excommunication of Bishop Richard Williamson, whose Holocaust-denial views set off a firestorm



MAY 11, 2009

Pope Benedict, like John Paul II, will visit Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum in Jerusalem during his eight-day tour of the Holy Land

The Past That Made the Pope

ANY UNDERSTANDING OF BENEDICT'S subtle disengagement from Jewish questions begins in his youth. Joseph Ratzinger served a brief, mandatory stint in Hitler's Wehrmacht, but both Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center and the former East German secret police closed investigations into that part of his history without detecting any enthusiasm for Hitler's regime. Ratzinger's family was solidly anti-Nazi. But unlike John Paul, Ratzinger had no childhood Jewish playmates. His older brother Georg told German philosopher Raphaela Schmid, "I didn't know what a Jew was." That changed when their family moved from a small Bavarian village to the town of Traunstein, where in 1933, papal biographer John Allen reports, a DO NOT BUY FROM THE JEW sign hung in the main square. In an interview, Benedict recalled crowds threatening an Archbishop, "After the Jews, the Jew lover."

Cardinal Walter Kasper, the Pope's point man for Christian-Jewish affairs, says Benedict believes "Germans have a special obligation to do something more for the Jewish-Christian relationship." But it's not apparent that the Pope views the Holocaust with a sense of personal remorse. Wolfgang Benz, head of the Center for Research on Anti-Semitism in Berlin, notes that generalized remorseful feelings "started with [Germans] about 10 years younger" than the 82-year-old Pope. Members of Benedict's generation tend to judge themselves strictly on the grounds of personal culpability. Moreover, the Pope identifies heavily with his church, which he sees as having played a heroic anti-Nazi role. (History is far more ambigu-

ous, although institutional Catholicism acquitted itself better than Protestantism.) As Catholicism's longtime philosophical enforcer, he holds even more fiercely than did John Paul to the belief that the church as a holy entity is perfect. He is less eager to critique the acts of its followers, especially since he may feel any admission of weakness could undermine his battle against European secularism.

Finally, there is Benedict's relationship to Vatican II's bedrock statement on the Jews, *Nostra Aetate*. Published in 1965, it said that Christianity "received the revelation of the Old Testament through" them, that they bear no collective or ongoing guilt for the death of Christ and that anti-Semitism is wrong—all teachings the Pope undoubtedly affirms. It also pointedly quotes St. Paul's New Testament preaching that God never retracted covenants he made with the Jews before the birth of Jesus. This contradicts the ancient church claim that Christ replaced (or "superseded") the Jews' divine connection—a position that exposed Jews to some 1,700 years of none-too-gentle Christian evangelizing and conversion.

The ongoing Jewish covenants—combined with points made in other conciliar documents—seem to temper the idea that Catholicism is a uniquely effective road to salvation that has little to learn from other traditions. But Benedict sometimes seems nostalgic for the old understanding. In 2006, for instance, he preached that in choosing 12 Apostles, Jesus was summoning the 12 tribes of Israel to be "reunited in a new covenant [Christianity], the full and perfect accomplishment of the old." There are harm-

less ways to interpret this. But it might also help explain why Benedict refused to delete the "conversion" wording from the Latin Mass.

The Cost of Indifference

ON BALANCE, BENEDICT IS AN ADMIRER of the Jews, but one whose goodwill toward them may be moderated by his other concerns. Should that matter? "It's hard to imagine, but it's true that the Jews are not at the top of the agenda of everyone else in the world," quips Rabbi Jacob Neusner, a professor of Jewish studies at Bard College with whom the Pope has a fruitful scholarly relationship. One could justifiably wonder why, on an issue like the Latin Mass or SSPX, a busy Pope should constantly have to ask himself whether it's good for the Jews.

There are several good reasons. For one, as Merkel made clear, Germans have a special obligation. "We don't want [history] to repeat itself," as papal adviser Kasper says. The Holocaust also remains an affront to the self-understanding of Christians, and Western civilization as a whole. We learned the word *genocide* through the Jews. Since Vatican II, the Roman Catholic Church has set the post-Shoah standard in acknowledging the absolute unacceptability of the Jewish loss. Without the Catholic Church's leadership on the issue, other Christian groups might not have followed.

Since papal conclaves have a cutoff age of 80 and tend to elect Popes from their own number, Benedict is likely to be the last Pontiff who can say, "We remember," and mean it literally. As the church's center of gravity moves southward, he may also be one of the last European Popes, and Jewish relations tend to be low on the radar of African and South American bishops. (One of the latter recently said the Jews own the media.) When Benedict is gone, says Abe Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League, "not only may Judaism be off the agenda—it may face opposition. There's a clumsiness to how Benedict has dealt with some of these issues, and we really hope he fixes them while he's still here. Because the next guy may not be fixing any of it."

There is time. Yet this scholar Pope knows that history's long rhythms also dictate that a great project is not completed or fulfilled in a year, decade or even quarter-century. Some of Benedict's would-be defenders suggest that once he has made his visit to the Jewish homeland, the Pope is right to "move on." He knows better: like any other vital priority his church takes into its stewardship, this one too must be heeded and tended, not just now but for the (very) long haul. —REPORTED BY JEFF ISRAELY/ROME, TIM MCGIRK/JERUSALEM AND URSULA SAUTER/BONN

The Old Bibi or A New One?

Israel's Prime Minister is on his way to Washington with a newfound reputation for pragmatism. We'll see

BY TIM MCGIRK/JERUSALEM

ISRAEL IS A NATION OF WORRIERS. NO matter how pleasant the evening, at a certain point, after the jokes and well into the merlot from the Judean hills, the worrying starts. No doubt, Israelis have plenty to worry about. They live between wars and must contend with Hamas, Hizballah and—the biggest anxiety of all—Iran, whose President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, has said Israel should be “wiped off the map.”

It was the worry factor that led to the re-election of Benjamin Netanyahu, the leader of the Likud Party, who took over as Prime Minister in March. The vote was begrudging. Netanyahu's first foray in that office, from 1996 to 1999, ended badly. He was lampooned as a brash know-it-all, arrogant and at the mercy of a wife who allegedly pelted the hired help with shoes. But Israelis were willing to forgive the ex-commando because Bibi, as he is known, was tough on security. That he remains, in particular when it comes to Iran. Aluf Benn, diplomatic correspondent for the daily *Ha'aretz*, says Netanyahu's actions are shaped by a profound conviction that Israel will be in danger of extermination if Iran has nuclear weapons at its disposal.”

Netanyahu wants Iran to be as much on President Barack Obama's mind as it is on his. On May 18, when the Israeli leader pays his first visit to the Obama White House, he will seek a pledge that the U.S. will do everything in its power—diplomatically, economically and perhaps militarily—to stop Iran from building nukes. Otherwise, Netanyahu is expected to drop the hint that Israel will take out Iran's nuclear installations by itself, regardless of the shock waves that

would send through the world. A poll by Bar-Ilan University showed that 66% of Israelis support a military strike against Iran if all other efforts fail. Netanyahu himself draws parallels between the Holocaust and the specter of an Iranian bomb aimed at Tel Aviv.

That sort of doomsday rhetoric won't necessarily go down well with the White House. Iran's intentions worry the U.S. too, of course, but Obama and his advisers are expected to move briskly to an equally pressing matter: Netanyahu's refusal to back the idea of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. The two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the keystone of U.S. policy in the Middle East, and Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton are demanding that Netanyahu sign on. Netanyahu has hinted that he does not oppose the creation of a Palestinian state, but aides say he must move cautiously because his religious-nationalist coalition partners refuse to give away land.

Netanyahu knows the U.S. well. His father taught Jewish history at Cornell University, and the Prime Minister graduated from MIT. His advisers say he has a weather eye for the mood in Washington

and knows it is not as sunny as it used to be. Israeli officials have gauged that while Netanyahu can count on support from the Obama Administration and Congress, “it's no longer infinite,” says an official at a pro-Israeli lobby in Washington. Obama is not George W. Bush, who backed Israel's wars in Lebanon and Gaza and rarely complained about the expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank. And the Obama Administration numbers plenty of ex-Clintonites who dislike Netanyahu from the last time around.

Banging the Drum

NETANYAHU'S FRIENDS SAY HIS DECADE in the political wilderness has matured him. He was adroit, for example, in stitching together a coalition that stretches from the right-wing Zionist and religious parties to Labor on the left. But a friend of Netanyahu's, the novelist Eyal Megged, says the Prime Minister's hard-line ideology has not mellowed. “He identifies with Churchill,” says Megged, “as a defender of his country in times of peril.”

Netanyahu's patriotism was forged by his days as an elite special-forces commando and by the death of his older brother Jonathan, who was killed while commanding the Entebbe raid in 1976 to rescue hijacked Israelis in Uganda. Yet for all his hawkishness, Netanyahu possesses a streak of realism. During his first term as Prime Minister, he turned Hebron over to Palestinians (though a contingent of militant Jewish settlers has taken root there, paralyzing life for many of the city's Palestinians). Tony Blair, the special envoy of the Quartet powers to the Middle East, was struck by Netanyahu's pragmatism when the

‘[Netanyahu's] actions are shaped by a profound conviction that Israel will be in danger of extermination if Iran has nuclear weapons.’

—ALUF BENN, HA'ARETZ
DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT



Hard-liner Has the Likud leader mellowed since his first term as Prime Minister ended in tears?

two men met recently. Obama came away with a similar impression last July during a brief stop in Jerusalem. While shaking hands, he told Netanyahu, "I'm perceived as coming from the left, and you're perceived as coming from the right. But we're both more practical than people give us credit for."

Obama will accentuate the practical in Washington. Israelis say they expect him to argue that to bring the Arab world on board for sanctions against Iran—as Netanyahu wants—it will help if Israel fulfills its pledges to the Palestinians, by either freezing or removing Jewish settlements and reducing the checkpoints that cripple the movement of Palestinians inside the West Bank. Obama is expected to point out that U.S.-sponsored efforts to set up a professional Palestinian security force in the cities of Nablus, Hebron, Jenin and Jericho have restored a measure

of calm. According to Israeli sources, Netanyahu will offer a familiar counter-argument: with Hamas in control of Gaza and with Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas' popularity on the wane in the West Bank, Israel has no responsible partners among the Palestinians. "Netanyahu will tell Obama, why should he risk civil unrest—Israeli soldiers fighting Jewish settlers—if the Palestinians can't keep up their end of the bargain?" says a source close to Netanyahu's Cabinet. But that is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Abbas' credibility is sliding—and Hamas' gaining—because Israel is stalling on concessions to the Palestinians.

On Iran, Netanyahu and Obama may not be so far apart. Both Israel and the U.S. say negotiations with Iran must be explored before sanctions are imposed or, if all else fails, a military strike is authorized. But the two sides differ on

their reading of Iran's timetable. Israeli security forces estimate that Iran will have enough enriched uranium for a nuclear test "within months," while U.S. experts say Iran will cross that threshold in early 2011. It will take Iran many more months, or perhaps years, to attach a nuclear warhead to a missile capable of hitting Israel, which has a formidable nuclear arsenal of its own.

In the meantime, Israel is upping the ante. In the lead-up to Netanyahu's Washington visit, Israeli newspapers have printed stories about the air force carrying out dry runs for an Iranian raid and antimissile crews having practice drills. If nothing else, this drum-banging may help Obama bring pressure to bear on Iran. Will Israelis then stop worrying? Nope. If you lived where they do, you'd worry too. —WITH REPORTING BY

AARON J. KLEIN/TEL AVIV

'After I cried and screamed, I went to the bathroom and threw up.'

Living with Infidelity By Elizabeth Edwards

*On May 3, former Democratic presidential candidate John Edwards acknowledged that a federal investigation had been opened into whether his campaign improperly gave money to a woman with whom Edwards had an extramarital affair. Edwards has denied any wrongdoing by his campaign. In an exclusive excerpt from her new book, *Resilience*, Edwards' wife Elizabeth describes her reaction to learning of the affair in late 2006.*

IN 2006, I WAS BUSY. I WROTE A BOOK AND BUILT A HOUSE; rather, I actually wrote the book and I watched the house being built. I cared for two youngsters and measured for draperies. I sat with my husband as he planned to run again for the Democratic nomination for President, and I got treatments for a breast cancer that was in remission and periodic scans to make sure it was. My daughter Cate and I went to Massachusetts to find a place for her to live in Cambridge when she started that fall at the law school at Harvard. I gave speeches and promoted my book, and I helped move my elderly parents from Florida to Chapel Hill, N.C., where I lived, when the assisted-living center in which they lived told them they would have to go. I was busy. Too busy, it turns out, to notice that my life had left its orbit. My husband had an affair.

This is my story, and my story is filled with pain and anger, with great erasures of my history and new outlines for my

future, but it is not filled with the clatter you seek. The story from my side is quite a different story from the one of grocery-store papers, a story played out too many times but rarely as publicly as my own.

John was gone a lot in 2003 and 2004 running for office, and although I saw him all the time in 2005 when I was getting treatment for breast cancer, I knew I would see him less in 2006. I even participated in his being gone. I thought he should do a spring-break trip for college students in New Orleans to help with the Hurricane Katrina cleanup. His antipoverty work would take him across the country, and I knew that. When he told me that the political action committee was going to have behind-the-scenes videos made of some of these efforts, it didn't seem like that bad an idea, and it certainly didn't occur to me to ask about who was making them. It didn't occur to me that at a fancy hotel in New York, where he sat with a potential donor to his antipoverty work, he would be targeted by a woman who would confirm that the man at the table was John Edwards and then would wait for him outside the hotel hours later when he returned from a dinner, wait with the come-on line "You are so hot" and an idea that she should travel with him and make videos. And if you had asked me to wager that house we were building on whether my husband of then 28 years would have responded to a come-on line like that, I would have said no.

I said as much in a speech I gave that April in Boston. What,



Photograph for TIME by Brigitte Lacombe

one questioner asked after the speech, was the secret of a good marriage? I told her the truth: I don't know. We don't do date nights; we don't take long romantic vacations together. We care about the same things, but I think the real secret is to marry the right man. I thought I had.

John told me of his indiscretion on Dec. 30, 2006, after returning from a tour to announce that he was running for President. My family had come for Christmas, and the plan was that he would announce in a series of cities and return to Chapel Hill for a final rally with his hometown supporters and his family. Before the announcement tour, he had asked my brother to come with him to film it, since Jay taught film at the graduate film school at NYU, but when Jay found out another videographer was coming whether he came or not, Jay said no. Now the announcement tour was over and we were sitting in our family room, John telling us about the response in the various cities. John pulled Jay aside and asked him again to film the campaign. The female videographer who had been on the announcement tour was not going to travel with him again. John did not tell him why. The next morning he told me why, or told me a version of why. He had made a terrible decision and had been with the woman. After I cried and screamed, I went to the bathroom and threw up.

And the next day John and I spoke. He wasn't coy, but it turned out he wasn't forthright either. A single night and since then remorse, was what he said. There were other opportunities, he admitted, but on only one night had he violated his vows to me. So much has happened that it is sometimes hard for me to gather my feelings from that moment. I felt that the ground underneath me had been pulled away. I wanted him to drop out of the race, protect our family from this woman, from his act. It would only raise questions, he said. He had just gotten in the race; the most pointed questions would come if he dropped out days after he had gotten in the race. And I knew that was right, but I was afraid of her. And now he knows I was right to be afraid, that once he had made this dreadful mistake, he should not have run. But just then he was doing, I believe, what I was trying to do: hold on to our lives despite this awful error in judgment.

My husband, I suppose like every person in this position, had assumed that I would never find out, that the life he had built and cherished would not be put at risk by an indiscretion. I spoke one time later to a media executive who said it was unlikely I knew everything. He was in a position to say that because he had stood once where my husband had stood. But, again I assume like most in this position, my husband did not want to risk the life he had built even after it was discovered, so he told me as little as he thought he could, as little as he must, with the hope that I would not leave him. I am certain he wished what he said were all true. I am sure, after all these months, he wishes that it had not even been one night, that when she said "You are so hot," he had turned and run. And I believe that he doesn't really understand why he did not.

And I suppose like most wives—or husbands—in my position, I wanted to believe his involvement with this woman had

been as little as possible. A single night, another opportunity, but that was it, and he had wanted away from her. I hung on to whatever I could. I was, in nearly every sense, Tecmessa or the wife of any soldier or warrior who comes back from a campaign changed: I wanted my old life back with the man I knew and loved. I looked at his face and heard his voice, and it seemed possible, didn't it, that nothing had really changed. The man I married couldn't have done this. No matter how much I wanted it to be otherwise, like those women, I had to accept that the man who had come home to me was different and that our story would be different because of that. But knowing that and letting go of my expectations were two quite different things.

I spent months learning to live with a single incidence of



On the trail The Edwardses in Mississippi, six months after the candidate told his wife about the affair. Elizabeth asked John to give up his campaign, but he said doing so would expose his indiscretion

infidelity. And I would like to say that a single incidence is easy to overcome, but it is not. I am who I am. I am imperfect in a million ways, but I always thought I was the kind of woman, the kind of wife to whom a husband would be faithful. I had asked for fidelity, begged for it, really, when we married. I never need flowers or jewelry; I don't care about vacations or a nice car. But I need you to be faithful. Leave me, if you must, but be faithful to me if you are with me.

It wasn't a premonition. I was talking about my own history. At 13 I had read my mother's journals, found them buried beneath a mattress in a guest room. I discovered that my mother believed my father had been unfaithful to her when I was a baby. I will say clearly that I do not know if that is true. I only know what she suspected. She was serially pregnant in the late 1940s and early 1950s: My brother was born 13 months after she was; my sister was born 12 months later. And my mother believed, rightly or wrongly, that my father had found other companionship while she was buried in babies. She even thought she knew where—the Willard Hotel in Washington—the place I had my senior prom, which must have been a bitter pill for her, although I had a suitably terrible time because, unbeknownst to her, I knew what that hotel meant to her.

There was never a satisfactory place to settle, so she lived all those decades still loving him, but with something deep inside her that would always be restless, even after he died. "The trust was supposed to be deep. The smiles were supposed to last forever." Don't ever put me in that position, I begged John when we were newlyweds. Leave me, if you must, but do not be unfaithful.

The possibility of my father's infidelity ate at Mother, I knew, but she stayed there, stayed with him and loved him, and after his stroke when he was nearly 70, she cared for him for nearly two decades with a selflessness that is almost unimaginable. Was that what I was supposed to do? And I was the one who would need the care. Although we did not know yet at the beginning of 2007 that the cancer had metastasized, we did know since 2005 that the cancer had spread at least to my lymph nodes, that there was some possibility of metastasis. I was the one who would need the selfless partner.

If it had been possible to view it all from some altitude, it might have seemed so easy to see how we came together and pushed each other away ... for days, for weeks, for months. But I had no altitude at all. It was quite the opposite. I was too low to have any perspective at all. All I wanted was my life back. I didn't like this new life story; I wanted my old one. I wanted to turn back time so we could avoid the wind, avoid the woman, avoid the pain. Open a drawer and find my life again. But I would open a drawer and find my new reality instead. Everything I tried to do to allow me to go to some safe place turned out to be filled with the same pain. I would look at a happy family picture and break down. I tried to write and could not. Even now it is hard to put it into words.

When I die, my place in the lives of others will be filled by other people. I know this. It is true for all of us. Someone else will have your job; someone else will mow your lawn; someone else will kiss the cheeks of those you love. One of the reasons that I spend time labeling baskets and organizing Christmas ornaments is that I have tried to create a world for my family that will last longer than the years I now have left. I am so in love with my family, so protective, that—odd as it may sound—long before I was sick, I would tell John whom he should marry should I suddenly die. And now I was dying and he had chosen to spend time with someone so completely unlike me. It almost goes without saying, for I would never have, could not have, stood on a sidewalk in the hopes that some clumsy come-on line might work on a married man. But it wasn't just that; this woman was different from me in nearly every way.

At this moment I saw my death not simply as a transition for my family but as my complete erasure from my family's life and a complete erasure of the life I hoped they would have. I was afraid of what John might do when cancer finally wins, but he has been as assuring as I could have hoped. I am now at ease that John would not make the same choice in the daylight that he made in the dark, but for some time that thought dogged me, kept me awake at night, stoked my anger and my pain.

I doubt there is a person to whom this has happened who did not, for some time, beat themselves with self-doubt and self-loathing. What did I do? How had I failed as a wife? Self-doubt wasn't that long a journey for me, frankly. The reason I was compulsive about learning whatever I needed to know on the campaign trail was that I was certain I would be humiliated if I was caught not knowing what everyone else in the room knew. So I learned four times the facts I would ever need, and I kept staff up nights finding answers to the questions I feared I might

be asked. All the work to avoid being embarrassed was wasted; I now felt thoroughly and publicly humiliated.

How to write on a few pages what that time was like? Morning, afternoon, evening, sleepless night. Morning, afternoon, evening, sleepless night. Morning, afternoon, evening, sleepless night. I put on my earphones and dreamed. "Hard to see the light now. Just don't let it go. Things will work out right now. Ask me how I know." I thought I could fix it; I think John thought he could, too. But we were not living in our house, working on fixing it. We were separated. He was on the campaign trail. At first I could not, would not go. What would I say? I had said, in the months before, how this man had been my rock, and he had been, but I couldn't say that now. When I finally did campaign, I was pointed, so pointed I thought someone might suspect: We elect a vision and a person capable of making that vision become reality. I could say that easily. It was, in fact, easier than I thought it would be. I could do this, and in doing it, I could feel as if I were standing closer to the core of who he was and is than when I let his indiscretion capture my thoughts. I was with him in a sense. And in a sense, of course, I was not.

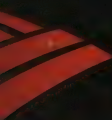
It turned out that a single time was not all it was.

More than a year later, I learned that he had allowed [the woman] into our lives and had not, even when he knew better, made her leave us alone. I tried to get him to explain, but he did not know himself why he had allowed it to happen. In months of talking with him, I have come to understand his liaison with this woman, if I have, not as a substitute for me. Those with any fame or notoriety or power attract people for good reasons and bad. Some want to contribute and some want to take something away for themselves. They flatter and entreat, and it is engaging, even addictive. They look at our lives, which from the outside in particular are pictures of joy and plenty, and they want it for themselves.

That leaves, unfortunately, the long process of rebuilding trust. He violated a trust and then he lied. And even when he told the truth, he left most of the truth out. My mother's mother used to say that the intent to deceive is the same as a lie. We have spent much too long in that purgatory, so long it feels like hell. If he lied for a year and told another lie for another year, does that mean it takes two years to re-earn trust? It is not as easy or formulaic.


Just as I don't want cancer to take over my life, I don't want this indiscretion, however long in duration, to take over my life either. But I need to deal with both; I need to find peace with both. It is hard for John, I can see, because it is something about which he is ashamed. But his willingness to open up is a statement that he trusts me, too. For quite a long time, I used whatever he admitted in the next argument, and he was hesitant to say anything. That is, gratefully, behind us. There is still a great deal of sorting through to do—the lies went on for some time. And we both understand that there are no guarantees, but the road ahead looks clear enough, although from here it looks long. It helps that there are rest stops—building Legos with Jack, reading with Emma Claire, planning Cate's new house, hanging pictures of 30 years of memories—that remind us why we are together.

Forgiveness, I have been told, is the gift I give to him; trust he has to earn by himself. I am not going to suggest that that process is over. It is long from being over. I am still adjusting my sails to the new wind that has blown through my life. Nothing will be quite as I want it, but sometimes we eat the toast that is burned on one side anyway, don't we? ■



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Investing for a Rebound. When you rebuild your portfolio, the shape of an economic recovery—V, U or W—is as important as the timing

BY STEPHEN GANDEL

HERE'S THE NOT-SO-BAD NEWS: WE ARE nearing a bottom. Housing prices are falling, but not as rapidly. Consumer confidence is up. Banks are earning money. The stock market in April had its best month in nine years. Even Nouriel Roubini, the New York University professor known for his dire economic predictions, thinks we are on the mend. Sort of.

That's not to say the recession is over. Roubini sees the road to recovery as a long and choppy one, with unemployment rising toward 12%. So don't trade



Figuring Out the Economy

The tide will rise again, but it may not lift all boats. For investment tips, see page 48

in your emergency fund for a boat. But when it comes to your investing life, it's time to get back into the water. "People think that things need to go from terrible to terrific before they can invest," says Fidelity's legendary stock picker Peter

Lynch. "But things only have to get to somewhat crummy for stocks to go up."

So while the risk of seeing what's left of our savings vaporized is fading, the question becomes: How do we ever get back the money we lost?

It depends on what type of recovery we have. Since the market bottomed on March 9, investors have rushed into acquiring shares of financial companies, retailers and technology firms. That makes sense if you believe we will have a recovery like the ones we've had in recent his-

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A SPECIAL REPORT:
How Today's Economic
Events Are Affecting
Americans

This is one of a series of articles appearing in TIME, FORTUNE, MONEY and REAL SIMPLE magazines and websites, as well as on CNN. To learn more, visit CNN.com/moneyandmainstreet

tory. Companies in those industries did well in the market rallies that followed recessions in the 1990s and the early part of this decade. And stocks handily outperformed bonds.

But the current recession has been deeper and longer than the past two. "It's a very different story today," says First Eagle's Jean-Marie Eveillard, one of the few managers to produce positive returns when stocks plunged earlier this decade. "The landscape is different, and the recovery, when it comes, probably won't be along the lines of what we have seen in the post-World War II period."

So here are three ways to think about investing for any recovery:

For the past few decades, the easiest call in economics was to predict a V-shaped recession—one that bottoms and rebounds quickly. It's basically all we've had. Only two of the 11 recessions since the end of World War II have lasted more than a year, and nearly all wound up with a boomlet. Consumers stocked up. Companies upgraded their computers. We piled into real estate. And predicting a V may be the right call again. With the government spending billions on economic stimulus—trillions, if you include the bank fix—a quick pullout is entirely possible. In that case, buying retailers, technology companies and financial firms makes sense.

But at 16 months and counting, this recession looks more and more U-like—one in which a rebound takes time. That's the picture Roubini is painting. He says no amount of government stimulus can make us shoppers again—we have too much debt. When paychecks resume or start to grow again, lenders will get that cash, not retailers. Consumer spending made up as much as 70% of the economy before the bust. With less shopping, Roubini says, there is little chance for a quick rebound. "If we do everything right, we can avoid an L-shaped near depression, which you don't recover from," he says. "But you still don't get to a V."

That's significant because stocks were not the clear winner in the mid-1970s downturn, the last time we had anything close to a U-shaped recession. In the two years that followed, bond mutual funds returned 14%, vs. the 16% return produced by the average stock fund. This time around, Robert Arnott, founder and chairman of investment firm Research Affiliates, believes corporate bonds could do a lot better than stocks. Here's the math: Corporate bonds have an average yield of about 6%. The average stock in the Standard & Poor's 500 produces a dividend of just 3.1%. That means in order for stocks

(continued on page 48)

How to Save BIGGER. Need to spend less? Here's the best way to go about it. Hint: It's not just the little things that add up

BY BARBARA KIVIAT

How we spend The average U.S. household spent \$49,638 in 2007, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That included:



AS THE U.S. DESCENDS from its decades-long, debt-fueled, free-spending high, Americans are finding ways to save more money. In March, the average person saved 4.2% of disposable income, compared with just 0.2% a year earlier. Thanks to a deep recession, our buy-it-now-and-buy-it-big culture is moving into a lower gear, at least temporarily.

Downshifting on consumption is tough, when the intuitive way most people think about cutting back is to trim daily cash expenditures—especially the petty indulgences—on the fly. There's a danger, though, in forcing yourself to save \$4 a day by passing up Starbucks

every morning. "If you feel like you're acting poorer, you may not last," says Mackey McNeill, a CPA and personal-financial specialist in Covington, Ky. "It's like bingeing on a diet—you feel so deprived, you go shopping, and the next thing you know, you've got \$1,000 on your credit card."

How to win at the psychology of saving? A big part is understanding where the money goes. If you're part of a typical American household, 12% of your spending is on food. That's a big chunk, but smaller than the 18% that goes for transportation and the 34% that pays for housing. Cataloging expenses using software like Quicken or Mint.com, or jotting them

\$16,920

Housing



\$10,023

Mortgage interest
(but not principal),
rent, insurance
and upkeep

\$3,477

Utilities, including
electricity and
telephone

\$1,797

Furniture,
appliances and
other equipment

down, may be annoying, but it can be life-changing. "It gets people thinking when they realize they spend five times as much on their car as they do on recreation," says Robert Manning, a consumer-finance research professor at the Rochester Institute of Technology.

Big, embedded expenses are hard to pare. What are you going to do, buy a smaller house tomorrow? The trick is to see through the fiction that certain costs are "fixed." The typical family spends \$1,303 a year on electricity; by simply unplugging appliances when you're not using them, you can shave 5% to 10% off that bill. And when was the last time you shopped for cheaper car insurance? It's an expense

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American, visit time.com/moneyandmain

that's out of sight most of the year but a significant chunk of what we spend.

Yeah, yeah, the lattes—and the DVDs and trips to the salon—do add up. That's why there's no shortage of talking heads telling you how to pinch pennies. Having manicure nights at home with friends, borrowing DVDs from the library, sipping water alongside your pricey cocktail—these may sound like neat ideas to you. Or complete mood killers.

For you to stick to cutbacks on discretionary spending, it's important to do it in a way that puts you in the right frame of mind. For every dollar you cut out, you could put \$50 in the bank and \$50 toward buying something fun—so being thrifty morphs from denying yourself what you want into anticipating what you're going to buy. When you do buy things, use cash. Handing bills over the counter underscores what you're spending in a way that swiping a piece of plastic never will.

Inserting some wait time between the decision to spend money and the actual spending of it is another strategy. Write out a shopping list in advance, then keep to it, says certified credit counselor Alberta Gibbs. Whenever you want to get anything expensive—maybe \$100 is your cutoff—don't do it right away. Give yourself a 24- or 48-hour cooling-off period, says Yale University behavioral economist Dean Karlan. If you still want the shoes—or the video game or the winglasses—a day or two later, then allow yourself to head to the store.

Most important, realize that, done right, spending less doesn't mean being miserable—just making sure that the things you pay for are truly important to you. "There's no right or wrong budget," says Leslie Linfield, executive director of the Institute for Financial Literacy. "The only rule is, don't spend more than you make." Because breaking that rule is what got us here in the first place. ■

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Recession Bee

Here's a matrix of investments that do well, based on the shape of an economic recovery and your age. But don't bet your retirement on any one scenario—diversification works in a rebound too

If you're
in your...

20s 40s 60s



The V
The best-case scenario. Trillions in government spending may produce a quick rebound.

Technology

Expect corporate and consumer computer sales to pick up. iShares Dow Jones U.S. Technology (IYW) is an exchange-traded fund that specializes in the sector.



Financials

The sector that instigated the recession is recovering, thanks in part to low interest rates and government bailouts. The iShares Dow Jones Select Dividend Index Fund (DIVY) owns financial stocks as well as other solid dividend-paying companies.

Retailers

For many, the rebound will mean it's time to shop. The Selected American Shares Fund (SLASX) has about 25% of its portfolio invested in retailers and other consumer-focused companies. Its top holding: Costco.



The U
We haven't had a prolonged recession in decades. But with consumers maxed out, this rebound may wait.

Emerging Markets

The U.S. has been the world's economic engine since World War II. But a prolonged recession may signal the end of that. American Funds' New World Fund (NEWFX) invests in countries that are still in their growth phase.

Health Care

If the economy grows slowly, health care could be one of the few exceptions. Retiring baby boomers need more and more care. The Fairholme Fund (FAIRX) has nearly 40% of its portfolio invested in medical companies.



Corporate Bonds

Relatively high yields make corporate bonds an attractive buy right now. And in a prolonged recession, stock earnings just can't keep up. Dodge & Cox's Income Fund (DODIX) has much of its portfolio in highly rated corporate bonds.



The W
Back-to-back recessions are rare. But if the stimulus ignites inflation, we could be in for a double dip.

Treasury Inflation-Protected Securities (TIPS)

Stocks and bonds tend to perform poorly when inflation is rising. TIPS are the exception. These bonds yield more when inflation rises. Vanguard Inflation-Protected Securities Fund (VIPSX) is a low-cost way to buy TIPS.

International Stocks

The values of overseas stocks rise as the dollar falls. And they're a way to shield your portfolio from some of the ups and downs of the U.S. economy. The Oakmark International Fund (OAKIX) beat out many others in this group in 2008.

Energy

The global recession has caused some explorers to delay drilling. When demand resumes, prices could skyrocket again. The T. Rowe Price New Era Fund (PRNEX) is a solid, low-cost energy-sector fund. Currently, 70% of New Era is invested in oil stocks.

(continued from page 46)

to outperform bonds, corporate earnings will have to rise more than 2.9% a year. And there is a good chance that won't happen anytime soon. "Corporate bonds represent an impressive value," says Arnott.

Even a prediction of a U-shaped recession and recovery could be optimistic. The trillions the government is spending to goose the economy add to our national debt and could hurt the value of the dollar. If that transpires, inflation will result. That's what Warren Buffett recently told attendees at his annual meeting.

The best tool against inflation is interest rates. But if the Federal Reserve is forced to raise rates, the economy will most likely reverse into a recession. This is the double dip, or the W. In this case, your best bet could be Treasury Inflation-Protected Securities, or TIPS. The yield on these bonds increases with inflation. Surprisingly, stocks might also be a good buy. First Eagle's Eveillard says inflation, while bad, is less bad for stocks than for bonds. "It gives companies the power to raise prices, and that is good for profits," he says. Pricing power accrues to companies that can't normally raise their rates—commodity producers like steel and timber companies and oil and other energy firms. Indeed, the shares of materials and energy companies rose 73% and 53%, respectively, in the first year of the bull markets that followed the back-to-back recessions of the early 1980s.

Of course, we won't know what type of recovery we will have until we have it. Fortunately, you don't have to position your portfolio for just one. As always, diversification can boost returns and lower risk—in this case, by including some investments for each of the three scenarios. If you are nearing retirement, your ideal is probably a mixture of corporate bonds and energy stocks. Bonds tend to be less volatile, limiting the chance that your portfolio will blow up. And energy stocks often pay dividends, which is something you may want when you are not working.

For younger investors, buying volatile technology and emerging markets stocks is worth the risk. The economy is going to recover well before you retire. But balance out your portfolio with an investment in TIPS, just in case things get worse before they get better.

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Life

FOOD FIT NATION NIGHTLIFE



FOOD

Eat Local. As regional fare gets harder to find, two new books celebrate America's culinary heritage. Squirrel mulligan, anyone?

BY JOEL STEIN

YOUR CULINARY GAIN IS THE planet's loss. Sure, you can drive down a Virginia highway and get Philly cheese-steaks, New England clam chowder, buffalo wings and St. Louis-style ribs, but it's almost impossible to find the peanut soup the Old Do-

minion State was famous for.

As with everything else, there are foodie progressives and foodie reactionaries, and they look at the peanut-soup problem differently. Mark Kurlansky, the best-selling author of *Salt and Cod*, has a new book, titled *The Food of a Younger Land: A Portrait of American Food—Before the National Highway*

System, Before Chain Restaurants, and Before Frozen Food, When the Nation's Food Was Seasonal, Regional, and Traditional—From the Lost WPA Files (yes, he's the reactionary). It's a collection of manuscripts from an unfinished Depression-era Works Progress Administration (WPA) project to compile local food customs into a book.

Kurlansky presents a startling snapshot of our nation's culinary past: a country of squirrel and opossum eaters, where few recipes didn't include cornmeal, molasses or salt pork and ash was a totally acceptable spice. "All these things like hoecakes and this Southern kind of baking—I wish there was more of that," says Kurlan-

Obscure Dishes? Not to Locals. Skip the pizza, bypass the burgers and get the kind of good, regional grub your grandparents used to eat



Whoopie pies

Cakelike creme sandwiches, possibly of Amish origin



Hot guts

Peppery ground beef usually packed into pork-gut casing



Sopaipilla

A pillow of honey-topped or meat-stuffed fried dough



Lamb fries

Skinned lamb testicles; bovine ones are called prairie oysters

sky of the U.S.'s disappearing dishes. "In the West, they had sourdough pancakes. Some of the local alcohols—" he stops to ponder the various homebrews of yesteryear and concludes, "We don't make enough booze in this country." Indeed, the Arkansan art of producing cherry bounce (cherry-infused whiskey) needs to return.

The files Kurlansky unearthed—some written by Eudora Welty and Zora Neale Hurston—reveal a weirder, more varied country. "Food is just part of the regional culture that's getting neutralized," says Kurlansky. "When I was growing up, I could tell what part of Connecticut someone was from just from his accent."

Though Kurlansky has tried some of the recipes in his book—the still regionally popular Indiana persimmon pudding is a favorite—he admits that some of these old dishes aren't great. "For my taste, there's too much ketchup and canned food in these recipes," he says. "But I would have rather eaten in 1930. I like to eat food that tells me where I am. I do book tours, and every night I'm in a different

place, and I wish I were eating a different kind of food, since I'm going to all this trouble getting on and off of planes. Chicago—I don't know what to eat in Chicago nowadays. They always tell you to eat pizza, which doesn't cut it."

Fortunately for Kurlansky, there's a new guide to help people venture off the culinary highway. Written by foodie progressives who savor Chicago's pizza as well as its beef sandwiches and chicken Vesuvio and scads of old-school offerings across the country, Jane and Michael Stern's *500 Things to Eat Before It's Too Late* refers not to a diminishing American landscape but to the limited number of eating opportunities in our life spans. It's a bucket list of restaurants serving local, often obscure dishes, ranked cheerily from best to almost best. The Sterns' nation is one with at least a few places still serving the Kentucky burgo (thick stew) Kurlansky dug up in those WPA files, as well as South Carolina perloo (meat-and-rice dish), Wisconsin hopel poppel (meal in a skillet), Ohio sauerkraut balls and even the Vermont sour-milk doughnuts that Kurlansky longs for.

The Sterns' America has endless varieties of hot dogs and dueling chowders. It's a land where men still gather to eat lamb fries, prairie oysters and other forms of animal testicle.

The Sterns, a married couple, have been hitting dives since the first edition of their classic, *Roadfood*, was published in 1977, do not agree with Kurlansky's contention that local cuisine is dying. "We're getting more homogenized. There is a lot of crap out there, but it is not that difficult to avoid the crap," Michael Stern says. "Jane and I could eat our way around this country for three more lifetimes and not eat all the regional dishes. And by then, there'd be 3,000 new regional cuisines." New dishes that often are formed by the rubbing of immigration plates. Just this year, Los Angeles gave rise to the Korean taco.

To the Sterns, technology has made local food more vibrant, with people trading

recipes and restaurant suggestions online. If anything, the Sterns are confused as to why many of these dishes are still regional—why, for example, the Midwest's sour-cream raisin pie hasn't joined Texas' nachos on more menus. They also think the U.S.'s local cuisine is kept fresh since it is always being tinkered with because of our lack of a food canon. While there might be only one right way to make bouillabaisse in France, there's always a new argument about how to barbecue.

But if Kurlansky's America is vanishing and the Sterns' is still emerging, both describe a culinary landscape more fascinating than the hamburgers and pizza we're known for. It's the kind of dynamic cultural mash-up that occurred in Italy before each town's dishes were calcified into classics. While every highway Olive Garden and Chili's hinders that dynamism, local cuisine is not gone yet. "There is no national hot-dog chain," says Stern. "That's because people are so loyal to the hot dog with which they grew up." So maybe we're not quite Europe. That doesn't mean we don't care about our food.



Mint Julep Wars

Author Mark Kurlansky digs up rival recipes at time.com/regionalfood



The Vitamin-D Debate

The sunshine vitamin may help protect against cancer and flu, but how much do we need daily?



Sanjay Gupta's
Fit Nation
series airs on
House Call on
CNN, Saturdays
and Sundays at
7:30 a.m. E.T.

A LOT CHANGED IN BETWEEN the births of my second and third daughters. For one thing, this time around I really am getting no sleep; for another, the pediatrician recommended something for our 1-month-old that is different from what had been suggested for our other children. She said we needed to pick up a liquid multivitamin that contains 400 international units (IUs) of vitamin D. It was a little confusing, because with our first daughter, now almost 4, the doctor told us to simply get her out in the sun from time to time to let her body produce vitamin D, also known as the sunshine vitamin. When our second child was born two years ago, we were told to give her a multivitamin that had 200 IUs of vitamin D. And now another change. So, what gives

with vitamin D, and what do we really know about its risks and benefits?

Turns out the debate about how much vitamin D we need has intensified over the past 10 years. One part of the discourse focuses on the growing body of research that points to numerous health benefits of the chemical (actually a hormone): it can help prevent rickets in children and severe bone loss in adults and potentially lowers the risk of multiple sclerosis, juvenile diabetes, cancer, heart disease, colds and influenza.

Amid all this new evidence, the Institute of Medicine (IOM) has assembled a panel of experts to re-evaluate just how much vitamin D we really need and can safely tolerate. Current IOM recommendations, set in

1997, are 200 IUs a day from birth to age 50 and a bit more after that. The upper limit of safety, according to the institute, is 2,000 IUs daily—too much can lead to, among other things, nausea and kidney stones—yet some vitamin-D proponents are pushing for up to 4,000 IUs a day for adults.

The IOM review won't be completed until May 2010. In the meantime, Dr. Frank Greer, chairman of the nutrition committee at the American Academy of Pediatrics, is confident that the academy's new guideline of 400 IUs is enough for kids under 2. But, he wonders, "what about adolescents? Do they need 800?" That remains to be seen. He takes 1,000 IUs daily.

In addition to the question of how much vitamin D, there is debate over the best way to get it. About 10 to 15 minutes spent outside in full sun will give a fair-skinned person dressed only in his skivvies 10,000 to 20,000 IUs. Some vitamin-D advocates point to the vigorous use of sunscreen as the reason studies show that so many Americans don't get enough D. But we don't want taking advantage of the potential benefits of vitamin D to mean increased risk of contracting skin cancer. In addition to supplements, there are foods that naturally contain vitamin D (salmon, egg yolks, liver) and others that are fortified with it (milk, cereals, juices, breads). And, of course, there is always cod-liver oil. Good luck trying to get your kids to swallow that. —WITH REPORTING BY SHAHREEN ABEDIN ■

NIGHTLIFE

Rocking Out at Denny's? To draw a younger crowd, the chain is amping up its late-night vibe. Drunks welcome

BY SEAN GREGORY/DANBURY

IT'S A SATURDAY NIGHT IN April, and Me Talk Pretty is rocking the house. Not a very large house, mind you. The kind of dank, beer-stained shoe box frequented by up-and-comers. But the sound is sharp, and the vocalist, Julia Preotu, can sing. Me Talk Pretty has potential.

Between songs, however, Preotu offers a very odd invitation. "Come party with us at Denny's later on," she tells the small, somewhat liquored-up crowd in Dan-

bury, Conn. Say what? These hip 20-somethings are taking the after-party to Denny's? Isn't that the place where old people powwow over coffee? Later, the lead singer of another band, called Man on Earth, tries to whip the fans into more of a frenzy. "Celebrate over at Denny's with Me Talk Pretty," he yells. "We'll tear the s__ out of the place!"

Guard your Grand Slam breakfasts, people. The recession has hit casual-dining chains like Denny's, Chili's and the Cheesecake Factory particularly hard, as consum-



Grand Slam jam session The alt-rock band Me Talk Pretty at a Denny's in Connecticut; in a bid for buzz, the chain is sponsoring aspiring musicians

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ers have traded down to less expensive fare at McDonald's. To draw more customers, Denny's is sponsoring shindigs like this one, building on its reputation as an after-party haven for young, hungry drunks (and, the company is quick to point out, sober people too). From 10 p.m. to 5 a.m., the 56-year-old chain has started playing alternative-rock music in its restaurants. It has sponsored more than 30 emerging bands, like Me Talk



Pretty, which get free meals on the road as long as they occasionally head to Denny's for a postshow jam session. The chain has also added cheap items to its late-night menu

(Pancake Puppies, Kickin' Flavor Wraps), designed to be shared by groups of amped-up rabble rousers.

Through its Allnighter program, Denny's is trying to give members of the late-night crowd a social experience they can't get at fast-food drive-throughs,

which are now staying open later and eating into the chain's graveyard-shift revenues. Denny's has instructed its servers to chat up tipsy customers. "We want them to say, 'Looks like you guys were having some fun tonight—who wants coffee now?'" says Michael Polydoroff, director of sales promotion and licensing at Denny's.

In Danbury, Joe Kyek, a college student who at 1 a.m. on a Sunday seemed to fit the chain's target demographic, says he has started going to Denny's more often and sees

it in a new light. "Every time someone mentioned Denny's, I'd picture that couple over there," he says, nodding toward a middle-aged husband and wife sitting in a booth. "Now it's kind of New Age, up with the trends."

As for tearing the place apart, well, the after-party was fairly well behaved. In fact, Me Talk Pretty sang an acoustic number that even the middle-aged couple enjoyed. "The girl has a fabulous voice," said Ron Barriault, 54. "It's dinner and a show." At the last place you'd expect it. Rock on. ■



Catch the After-Party

To see a video of Me Talk Pretty playing at Denny's, go to time.com/dennys



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The *Glee* pilot is just a giant basket of happy

TELEVISION, PAGE 59

Arts

MOVIES TELEVISION BOOKS MUSIC SHORT LIST



MOVIES

Going Up. Pixar's latest triumph mines buoyancy from the depths of an old man's grief



BY RICHARD CURRIE

IT STARTED WITH A CARTOON DRAWING: a cluster of pailly-colored party balloons held by a cranky old man, his eyes squinted, as if daring any kid to take one. From Disney's sketch, made, luck is his, suggested another draft. In motion it fixed a snub-propped floating rick in a traditional genre: miser and old are usually rarely attached to the main characters in animated feature. The *Up* crew, as when come the new Academy Award and his cartooning and writing. He'd been a cartoonist and he'd been with the company. The world with him and the world with him. And he'd been a cartoonist in two ways. He'd been a cartoonist in two ways.

Those, you might say, were the compass points of last summer's Pixar wonder *WALL-E*, of which Docter was the original director (before handing the project to Andrew Stanton). There are other similarities between that futurist galactic epic and *Up*, which will open the Cannes Film Festival on May 13 and come to North American theaters on May 29. Both movies are about lonely creatures—a droid left on Earth, a man whose cherished wife has died—taking a perilous trip. Both protagonists are stout and box-shaped and don't talk much. Both films, under the thrill-ride wrapping, are unabashed love stories. And though it's not yet summer, we can declare that *Up*, like *WALL-E*, will prove to be one of the most satisfying movie experiences of its year.

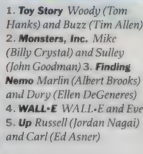
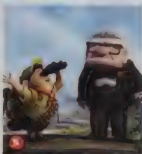
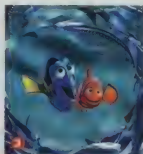
Floating Away

SPANNING TWO CONTINENTS AND SEVEN decades, *Up* begins in a 1930s movie theater. A newsreel tells us that famous explorer Charles Muntz (voiced by Christopher Plummer) is just back from South America's remote Paradise Falls with the bones of a prehistoric bird. Denounced as a fraud by archaeologists, Muntz vows to retrieve a member of the species and bring it back alive. In the audience, wearing aviator goggles atop his thick-rimmed specs, is young Carl Fredricksen, who is enthralled by Muntz's motto, "There's adventure out there!"

On the way home, Carl finds a kindred spirit: a girl named Ellie, as vivacious as he is stolid, who harbors the same dream of visiting Paradise Falls. It's love at first sight, and in a tender montage, *Up* shows us their life together: the wedding, the fixing up of their home, the quiet walks, their respective jobs at the local zoo (she tending the animals, he selling balloons), their eager preparations for a child they later learn they can't have, their need to defer the big trip to pay for home improvements, then her slowing pace and death. This series of vignettes is played without dialogue and underscored by Michael Giacchino's wistful waltz. It's the sweetest, saddest 4½ minutes you'll ever see on film.

With the love of his life gone, widower Carl (Ed Asner) might as well be dead. His grief has soured into guilt, which he walls up in a castle of cantankerousness. His day is a dull routine of dressing, hobbling with his cane to sit on the front porch and keeping his home just as it was when Ellie was there. It's really a mausoleum, and he is both caretaker and corpse. We never hear Carl say a word to Ellie while she was alive, but now he talks nonstop to his absent darling. She'd understand his bitterness; she might even forgive it.

Since this character study is also an action-adventure film, Carl has to go



1. *Toy Story* Woody (Tom Hanks) and Buzz (Tim Allen)
2. *Monsters, Inc.* Mike (Billy Crystal) and Sulley (John Goodman)
3. *Finding Nemo* Marlin (Albert Brooks) and Dory (Ellen DeGeneres)
4. *WALL-E* WALL-E and Eve
5. *Up* Russell (Jordan Nagai) and Carl (Ed Asner)

Two by Two In modern movies, especially animated features, you gotta have friends. The DreamWorks cartoons—*Shrek*, *Madagascar*, *Monsters vs. Aliens*—are made in a group spirit and feature pals by the bunch. That was the early Pixar template: toys, bugs and closet creatures banded together. But as the studio's directors worked more on their own, they created heroes who start out lonely or sad. *Up*'s Carl and *Finding Nemo*'s Marlin are recent widowers; *WALL-E* is isolated on Planet Earth. To give their lives purpose and hope, they need companionship—the reaching out of one hand, fin or mechanical claw to another.

somewhere—Paradise Falls, obviously. But he doesn't have to leave his home. Threatened with eviction to an old folks' home, he attaches 20,000 helium-filled balloons to his house, and off it floats toward South America. But there's a stowaway on board: Russell (Jordan Nagai), a plump, determined kid who has been pestering Carl to let him "assist the elderly," the one good deed he needs to become a full Wilderness Explorer. The old man isn't pleased, but he's not stopping now.

As Docter notes, *Up* is driven by the idea of escape—the notion, familiar to dreamers of any age, that "you could just float away and take what you want with you." What Carl wants to take is the house where he spent a happy half-century with Ellie and where, in a sense, she still lives. Like a snail or, more likely, Atlas, Carl carries his house and the world's burden on his back; his wish for escape is also a sacred responsibility, to take Ellie to Paradise Falls.

Echoes of Oz

THE MOVIE STIRS LOTS OF CINEMATIC echoes, some natural—Walt Disney's *Dumbo* was a touchstone for Docter—and some weird. The dragging of a large structure over rugged South American terrain is also a motif in the Werner Herzog epic *Fitzcarraldo*. A love story continued after death: Remember *Ghost*? Docter also cites Thomas McCarthy's *The Station Agent*, "the story of a solitary guy who reconnects with the world."

The central connection, though, is with *The Wizard of Oz*, about a lonely girl and her flying house. The old guy alights in a wonderland, meets magical or malevolent animals and an old villain and is rejuvenated by the simple act of letting go of his obsession and caring for someone else. By the end of his adventure, he's a movie superhero, an older version of Indiana Jones. He also realizes that the small pleasures often trump the big thrills. Oz may

provide death-defying fun, but what's the matter with Kansas?

Except for *The Incredibles*, Brad Bird's obligatorily cartoony vision of a superhero family, *Up* is the first Pixar feature in which the main characters are humans. *Up* isn't realistic either. It revels in a minimum of dialogue, deft comic underplaying and a style the Pixar people call simplicity. "We tried to push caricature," Docter says, "and the language of shapes—to make these drawings an expression of the characters. Carl wants to stay enclosed in his box of a house. He's just kind of square. His wife is more curves, almost balloon shapes, and Russell is very balloon-like." From his shape, Russell could be the child Carl and Ellie desperately wanted. Kind of takes after his mother.

Every Pixar production involves some 300 artists, but the actors come first; they have to, because the dialogue is recorded to guide the animators. Asner, 79, who used his slow burn brilliantly on the great *Mary Tyler Moore* '70s sitcom, had the gruffness and deadpan comic timing to bring Carl to vocal life. As Docter recalls, "When we first met Ed and showed him a small sculpture we'd made of Carl, he said [*growling*], 'I don't look anything like that.' And we thought, O.K., this is gonna be perfect." Docter and Peterson then tailored the dialogue to the actor's speech patterns. "We looked for words that had more consonants and shortened the sentences," Docter says. That cemented the notion that Carl, post-Elle, is a disgruntled bear that's been poked awake during hibernation.

Nagai, the nonprofessional kid chosen for Russell, needed a bit of coaching. "When he had to be excited," Docter says, "he would get maybe 50%. So I'd tell him, 'Run around the room, run back here and say the line—ready, set, go.' We'd do it one line at a time like that." For a scene in which Russell is cradled and tickled by a giant South American bird, "I actually lifted him upside down and tickled him," Docter says, "which you probably wouldn't do with Ed."

He probably won't have to do it with the movie's viewers either; they'll be tickled and touched without prodding. Extending the patented Pixar mix of humor and heart, *Up* is the studio's most deeply emotional and affecting work. Docter says he had a ball digging fresh ground, finding "this nice new road that we got to go out and drive on." The story of a septuagenarian grouch who uses his cane, hearing aid and dentures to thwart all evildoers; a buddy movie whose pals are separated by 70 years; a love story that transcends the grave—has there been a movie like this in the history of feature animation? "Well," says the man who made *Up*, "I hope not!" ■

TELEVISION

Chorus of Laughter. The delightful, devilish *Glee* parodies *High School Musical*'s themes and *American Idol*'s dreams

BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

IN 2004, ABC EXECUTIVE LLOYD BRAUN had the idea to remake the premise of CBS's *Survivor*—people stuck on an island—as a drama. *Lost* became a gripping fantasy that had little more in common with the reality hit show than the coconut trees.

If that could come of *Survivor*, what fruit might be born of the even bigger *American Idol*? Fox's answer: a musical-comedy series with current tunes and a young cast. *Glee*—debuting May 19 after *Idol* and then returning in the fall—is a delight but a risk: a devilish, exuberant comedy that manages to capture and subvert the *Idol* aesthetic at the same time.

Glee's creator, Ryan Murphy, specializes in lampooning American appetites. In his dark comedy *Popular*, he took on the desire for social status; in the plastic-surgery drama *Nip/Tuck*, the hunger for physical perfection. *Glee* is all about the timely teen dream embodied and fed by *Idol*, *High School Musical* and YouTube: fame, glorious fame.

Murphy sets up the comedy by giving this big idea a humble setting: the down-and-out glee club of William McKinley High School in Lima, Ohio. The school's once champion show choir has fallen on hard times, overshadowed by the competitive cheerleading squad (whose coach is played with Patton-esque swagger by Jane Lynch). Restless Spanish teacher Will Schuester (Matthew Morrison) volunteers to bring back the chorus of misfits, like Charlie Brown nursing the

most pathetic Christmas tree on the lot.

In need of talent—and believing popular kids will help recruitment—he plunders the football team for Finn Hudson (Cory Monteith), a quarterback with a secret penchant for singing in the shower. Will pairs him with his female lead, Rachel Berry (Lea Michele), a diminutive, driven diva who's the musical equivalent of *Election*'s high school politician Tracy Flick. Upset that her glee mates are not taking their music seriously enough, she lectures them: "There is nothing ironic about show choir!"

There is, obviously, everything ironic about *Glee*: an upbeat chorus number set to Amy Winehouse's *Rehab* is the funniest thing I've seen on TV this year. But this raises the question of how good a match it really is for the *Idol* audience, who tend to like their glitter dreams earnest. Indeed, the jock-meets-music-geek pair-up is a straight lift from, and parody of, *HSM*.

What makes *Glee* more than sketch comedy, and what may save its commercial appeal, is that it is also an underdog story (not just about the kids but also idealistic music-lover Will) with heart. Like *Ugly Betty*'s, its spoofing is bright, not dark. And with a well-chosen sound track and arch comedy, the pilot is just a giant basket of happy. If Murphy can flesh out the overly broad characters, this series could be a rare, sophisticated, joyous hybrid that gets to have its pop candy and satirize it too. As Randy Jackson might say, *Glee*'s early tone is a tad pitchy. But this show works it out, dawg! ■



A sing and a prayer Rachel (Michele, far right) and company hope to go from underdogs to champions

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BOOKS

He Could Not Stop for Death.

Christopher Buckley, son of William F., writes about losing his parents

Losing Mum and Pup



Christopher Buckley

FIRST LINE

April 14, 2007, began well enough. I was at Washington and Lee University in very rural Lexington, Virginia. It has a beautiful campus, and the occasion was an egotist's wet dream.

BY LEV GROSSMAN

ONCE, WHEN HE WAS IN COLLEGE, William F. Buckley Jr. flew an airplane from Boston to New Haven, Conn., at night after a total of an hour and a half of flight training. Buckley also smoked, drank, ate peanut butter and bacon sandwiches and took pills by the fistful. He was a reckless sailor who crossed three oceans—his terrified friends nicknamed him Captain Crunch. He abominated seat belts, and in his later life he developed the unnerving habit of urinating out the open doors of cars going at full speed. Buckley, an icon of the modern conservative movement, died last year at 82 from a heart attack. It's amazing that he lasted as long as he did.

Buckley died just 10 months after his wife Patricia, who was 80. Their son Christopher has written a memoir of that difficult year titled *Losing Mum and Pup* (Twelve; 251 pages). Christopher—as we will call him to avoid muddling our Buckylys—is best known as a comic novelist (*Thank You for Smoking*, *Supreme Courtship*), and in taking on such a tragic, personal subject, he's punching well above his weight class. But his sense of the absurd turns out to be oddly well suited to observing the numerous medical and existential

indignities associated with dying, as well as to describing the bizarre, outsize creatures who raised him.

This is not the stuff of recession-era tragedy. Christopher once came home to find his mother in a neck brace: she had curtsied too low to a duchess and caught a heel in her pearls. The Buckylys weren't plutocrats, but William's prodigious out put—he could bash out a 700-word column in five minutes flat—and Patricia's inheritance made them more than well off, and the action leaps nimbly from the family's teak-and-mahogany yacht to its 19th-century Swiss chateau to Patricia's memorial service at the Metropolitan Museum's Temple of Dendur.

Both Buckylys had enormous personalities and appetites, which caused them to behave in ways that seem godlike and infantile at the same time. Patricia's major vice was lying: at dinner with a Kennedy, she loudly claimed to have been a juror at the trial of Michael Skakel. (She was not.) William's towering professional achievements and his genuine affection for his son were offset by impatience, impulsiveness, arrogance, gluttony and criminal thoughtlessness. He walked out of Christopher's Yale graduation because he was bored. He blew off his sister's funeral to accept an award.

William Buckley once wrote to an admirer that the secret of happiness was "Don't grow up." He never quite did. This forced his son to grow up all the faster, to the point where he could actually forgive his father's failings or at least laugh about them (though there is an element of Oedipal assassination in this lovingly unflattering portrait). The poetry of *Losing Mum and Pup*—and it has some—arises from the fact that even extraordinary people are not exempt from the pedestrian, democratic reality of death. When Christopher complains about his father's driving, his aunt says wryly, "Don't you understand? The rules don't apply to him." But in the end, they did. ■



MUSIC

The Un-Idol

BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

IF AMERICAN IDOL IS A REFERENCE to American taste, then it's possible Adam Lambert—the most flamboyant contestant yet on a show that has never been a beacon of restrained masculinity—will be gone before you read this sentence. Pleasantly little fuss has been made over pictures circulating on the Web of Lambert kissing a man, but a form of prejudice could still do him in: prejudice against irony.

Idol is a reliable source of platinum talent largely because the talents it produces—Kelly Clarkson, Chris Daughtry, Carrie Underwood—respect the conventions of its genres. They are nice singers who sing nice songs nicely. Lambert, 27, may have the best chops of the bunch (his ability to hold high notes recalls Grace Slick in her prime), but where he really outshines them is in self-awareness. While his peers act as if being plucked from obscurity to sing in prime time is normal, he understands that he's on a television show, where acting normally would be completely abnormal. In his hands, a song and a performance are separate messaging opportunities, so "Born to Be Wild" becomes a rock anthem and show tune, "Ring of Fire" a love song verging on the orgasmic.

The judges love Lambert, but they are also routinely stumped: "Confusing and shocking and sleazy!" shouted Kara DioGuardi after Lambert seduced Sammy Davis Jr.'s "Feeling Good." Lambert might just be too weird for a show this big. But win or lose, it won't matter: after producing plenty of singers, *American Idol* has found its first star. ■

The lion in summer
Buckley and son
at leisure



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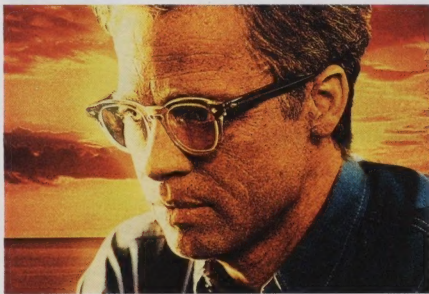
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Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



1 DVD The Curious Case of Benjamin Button

Love it or hate it; there's no neutral ground for opinions on David Fincher's epic about the New Orleans man (Brad Pitt) who was born old and kept growing younger. So we'll go with *masterpiece* for its bold blend of technical prowess and timeless storytelling wonder, for its art and heart.

2 TELEVISION The Real Housewives of New Jersey

Real housewives of New Jersey may not love the way Bravo's latest cast of suburban rich ladies embraces its state's brassy, blinged-out, big-hair stereotype. For the rest of us, *RHONJ* looks as if it could be the reality franchise's most fun, feuding installment yet.

3 BOOK Nobody Move

Denis Johnson's overstuffed *Tree of Smoke* is probably one of the least read National Book Award winners of all time. But all his talent is on display in this lean, rough, dizzyingly amoral noir thriller about a couple of bad apples on the run from a couple of worse ones.

4 DVD A Grin Without a Cat

The supreme work of the great French film essayist Chris Marker (*La Jetée*), this three-hour collage synthesizes the worldwide blooming of revolutionary leftism in the 1960s and its festering in the '70s. As history, philosophy and art, it's essential, enthralling viewing.

5 BOOK Brooklyn

It's a well-traveled tale—a young woman emigrates from small-town Ireland to Brooklyn, N.Y., in the early 1950s in search of a better life—but novelist Colm Tóibín (*The Master*) creates suspense out of the simplest emotions: fear, love and, most poignantly, regret.



Edie Falco's Short List

She won three Best Actress Emmys as long-suffering Mafia wife Carmela Soprano. Now Falco will preside over the chaos of a New York City emergency room as the prickly, punchy lead in *Nurse Jackie* (premiering June 8 on Showtime). When she isn't saving lives in the ER, Falco is reading—and doing some damage at art shows and sample sales.

Outsider art

I've started attending outsider-art events—and collecting artworks, which is typically something that's reserved for people far richer than myself. I find myself returning every year to Terry Turrell's booth. The biggest work of his that I own is an abstract painting of dogs that are all arranged in different positions. I don't know why, but the gentleness with which he paints moves me.

Italian lines

I walked by a Max Mara sample sale and was astonished by these Italian designs. They are breathtaking works of art, from the fabric to the way they hang to the way they are stitched—and all the teeny details you don't see until you're holding the clothing in your hand.

Southern discomfort

Mississippi Sissy by Kevin Sessums is a beautiful autobiography—the story of a gay man growing up in Mississippi 50 years ago. I have a number of gay friends who dealt with growing up and loving men who didn't love back.

Busman's holiday

I was watching the [Discovery Health] show *Trauma: Life in the E.R.* for years before I played the part of an emergency-room nurse, but it actually taught me about the procedures and the demeanor of people who work in this environment. And you get these crazy stories that would never work on an episodic medical show.

A musical that works

I just flipped over 9 to 5: *The Musical*. It's the cutest thing, not navel-gazing at all and exceedingly entertaining. I completely lost track of myself.



Arts Online

For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to time.com/entertainment



Nancy

Gibbs

Do-It-Yourself Heroes. In tough times, the virtues that inspire us are old-fashioned, unglamorous and hiding in plain sight

HUMAN BEINGS HAVE ALWAYS CREATED THE HEROES we need, from Hercules and Sherlock Holmes—whose supernatural gifts let them conquer mighty foes—to Underdog and the Ugly Duckling—whose transformations were themselves acts of heroism. Right now, when the headlines clang with catastrophe and confusion, it's natural that we'd be at it again, searching for heroes to suit the times.

First there was Captain Chesley (Sully) Sullenberger, walking the length of his sinking plane to be sure every last passenger was safely off. Then came Captain Richard Phillips, battling pirates in angry seas. And finally there's Susan Boyle, the unemployed church lady whose dying mother had told her to chase her ridiculous dreams of musical stardom.

Any one of them could be your Uncle Oliver or Aunt Florence, living lives innocent of fame until faced with a sudden test. Not much chance to prepare, other than a lifetime spent becoming themselves. Sully had 19,000 hours of flight time; he flew gliders as a hobby, had two master's degrees, studied crisis psychology to learn how to keep a crew on task in an emergency. "Me and my crew, we were just doing our job," he told the President, who had called to congratulate him.

Phillips, a former Boston cabdriver, didn't have any weapons to take on the pirates with, so he tried to trade himself for the pirate his crew had captured. But the pirates decided he was more valuable and held him hostage for five days, until the Navy SEAL snipers performed the Easter miracle that rescued him. "What they did was impossible," he said of the SEALs. "They are superheroes." Which is what his crew said about him.

And then there is Boyle, the youngest of nine children, deprived of oxygen at birth, bullied in school, living what seemed an airless life with her cat, Pebbles. When she auditioned for a TV talent show in 1995—in the age of arrogance and affluence—she was scorned. So she sang karaoke at the pub and cared for her ailing mother until the day she died. "Mum was my life," Boyle said. "She was the one who said I should enter *Britain's Got Talent*. We used to watch it together. She thought I would win." Boyle arrived center stage, with her awkward dignity and eyebrows like live mice,

and even then fame mocked her with the nickname the Hairy Angel.

Of course the song that made her famous is among the most miserable of show tunes, sung by a broken, destitute girl: "I had a dream my life would be/ So different from this hell I'm living/ So different now from what it seemed/ Now life has killed the dream I dreamed."

Except Boyle's dream was gloriously resurrected. Ashton and Demi, king and queen of the Twitterati, tweeted about her, but she could not know this, since she has neither a cell phone nor a computer. All she knows is that there are now photographers camped outside her council house and she's been invited on *Oprah* and somehow she has made hard people quit sneering and cry.

Once a month the news gods have delivered these parables to us, gifts in a gold box reminding us where value lies. It's so much better to discover that Superman could be anyone; that everywhere you look, there are hidden reserves of majesty and honor and genius and luck. The stories wouldn't have worked if Susan Boyle had been a yuppie barrister or Phillips a SEAL himself. Their normality gives them wings.

The qualities these stories celebrate are telling. Competence—as manifested in a pilot with a perfect feel for his machine. Sacrifice—in a captain who would trade himself for the sake of his crew. Persistence—in the singer who knew from adolescence that this was what she wanted and would allow no humiliation to deter her. These are, not by accident, the qualities Barack Obama, national life coach, regularly exalts. He commends the public for its patience, which convinces me that he has read the parenting books that instruct us to pre-emptively praise our children for the qualities we want them to develop. Any real recovery will require an "extraordinary sense of responsibility," he says, which just means we roll up our sleeves and clean up after ourselves.

This epoch rejects the glamour virtues: it calls for modesty, patience, perseverance, proficiency. We crave the company of ordinary heroes, especially now, when we're all on our own, thankful for small distractions from all the big threats we face. It's a karaoke moment: we can't afford a band, but we'll gladly sing of normal nobility all night long.





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2. Sources: Barclays Capital (GNMA Index), Federal Reserve H.15 Report (6-Month CD and 10-Year U.S. Treasury). © 12/31/08 Lipper (GNMA Funds Classification and Money Market Funds Classification), for the 20-year period ended 3/31/09.

3. Sources: Strategic Insight, Lipper, Inc., ICI, as of 2/28/09.

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